The Unesco Courier

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Disarmament education

A farewell to arms ?

TREASURES OF WORLD ART

155

France

Twin-headed deity

Found in 1970 during excavation of the Roman quarter of the city of Fréjus in the Var department, France, this twin-headed, hellenic-style bust measure 38 centimetres in height and dates from around the 2nd century AD. The face seen in profile to the left is a representation of Pan, god of Shepherds and flocks, while the right-facing profile is that of Hermes, herald and messenger of the gods and inventor of the lyre. The bust was probably imported into Fréjus to adorn a public building or the garden of a villa.

Photo G. Reveillac © CNRS Centre C. Jullian, Fréjus

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A window open on the world

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Cover

Education for peace and international understanding is a well-established part of school and university programmes in many countries. Now a related field of studies, disarmament education, is beginning to emerge in its own right. The present issue of the *Unesco Courier* examines this relative new-comer to the classroom, its implications and the challenge it presents to those engaged in education and communication. Cover shows a poster by Roman Cieslewicz.

Poster © Roman Cieslewicz, Paris

Since wars begin
in the minds of men,
it is in the minds of men
that the defences
of peace
must be constructed

(Preamble to the Constitution of Unesco)

IN April 1979, the *Unesco Courier* devoted an entire issue to a United Nations report on "the economic and social consequences of the arms race and of military expenditures". In that issue we showed that, far from slowing down, the arms race is gathering momentum and is swallowing up on a vast scale resources (today nearly a million dollars are spent every minute of every day on armaments) that are urgently needed for development.

This state of affairs is fraught with the most terrible danger to human life, indeed, to the very survival of the human species. Although since 1945 world war has been avoided, for how many days over the past thirty-five years have the guns really been silent? The axis of conflict, which still involves the industrial powers, has shifted towards the poorer countries where men, women and children continue to die as a result of war.

International action is urgently needed and Unesco's role is clearly defined in its Constitution which assigns it the task "of advancing, through the educational, scientific and cultural relations of the peoples of the world, the objectives of international peace and of the common welfare of mankind for which the United Nations Organization was established and which its Charter proclaims".

Since its inception, therefore, Unesco has been striving to create a climate of world opinion, especially among the younger generation, in favour of disarmament through the twin channels of information and education. Yet the term "disarmament education", although it covers part of well-established domains such as peace education, world order studies and education for international understanding, is a new expression which was first officially used at a meeting of experts convened by Unesco in April 1978 on *Obstacles to Disarmament and Ways of Overcoming Them.*

The experts defined the purpose of disarmament education as being to promote the goal of general and complete disarmament; this would involve, they stated, bringing up youth in a social climate favourable to this goal (education for disarmament) and training and instruction regarding the various historical, political, economic and other aspects of the problem of disarmament in international relations and domestic policy (education about disarmament). They also recommended the holding of a world congress with the task of proposing measures aimed at the establishment of specialized education in favour of disarmament. This proposal was put before the Tenth Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly, in May 1978, by Unesco Director-General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, and received the Assembly's whole-hearted support.

The World Congress on Disarmament Education was subsequently held at Unesco headquarters in Paris in June this year and was attended by some 250 participants and observers from all over the world. Its findings are largely reflected in this issue of the *Unesco Courier*.

Photo Marc Riboud, Unesco

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Education, disarmament and human rights

by Judith Torney and Leonard Gambrell

"PEACE cannot be kept by force. It can only be achieved by understanding". These words of Albert Einstein sum up succinctly the common point of departure of all those who believe that peace can be taught and that the vital first steps are education concerning disarmament and teaching about human rights.

But although their objective is the same, educational experts and writers have developed two distinct but complementary approaches to education for disarmament which are based on somewhat differing assumptions and rely on different strategies for attaining their ends.

In the first of these approaches, arms

races are seen as resulting from political systems which are malfunctioning and which can be improved through structural reform of society. This may involve a basic rearrangement of the nation-state system and some of its proponents suggest that world government is an essential part of the solution to arms races.

The educational programme implicit within this approach is the study of the growth and physical characteristics of nuclear weapons and of the negative economic consequences of arms races—the percentage of national resources locked in by arms production and alternative use of these resources for economic development. The risks of nuclear war and the physical danger of nuclear weapons are stressed. A wealth of facts is often provided by those who take the structural approach. This may be useful in developing awareness of choices and priorities, but only when governments demonstrate willingness to share data with their citizens concerning types of armaments and their economic impact.

Some materials used in this approach repeat the information that each human being on earth could be killed many times over by existing stockpiles of weapons. Certainly this is true. But this kind of information is likely to produce a high level of fear and anxiety in people. A common response to such emotions is to divert attention from the problem in the hope that it will disappear. This is especially true because individuals have little chance directly or immediately to influence the arms race.

Materials which suggest changes in economic priorities by the redirection of national resources are also hard for individuals to understand fully. The economic system is very complex, and citizens want very convincing assurance that their own well-being will not take a turn for the worse if economic priorities change. In periods of inflation or economic instability, there may be especially strong resistance to such changes.

Sometimes this kind of approach also relies on exhortations—labelling disarmament as moral and armament as immoral. The proposal of a world government which will abolish armaments meets with great scepticism in many nations. Beliefs about political morality as well as patriotic beliefs are so deeply held by most people that they are unlikely to be changed by slogans or exhortation.

Though the model that stresses structural problems gives some attention to the fact that more weapons do not necessarily give one more security, this is not always sufficiently emphasized. Unless a link is made with positive alternative approaches by which nations can understand each other better and conflict can be resolved without resort to increased armaments, it is not likely that steps will be taken to reduce or control the growth of arms.

The public may be aware that high levels of armament increase the chances for war. However, in the absence of alternative ways of reacting to threats to security, both policy makers and the general public are likely to accept increasing armaments. They see no other way to eliminate the threats against which arms are intended to protect. This approach is very useful, however, in pointing to multilateral approaches through organizations like the United Nations and Unesco and to the interdependent roles of governmental, inter-governmental, and non-governmental organizations in promoting disarmament.

The second of the two approaches to disarmament education focuses major attention on the behaviour of actors involved in the arms race (including both policy makers and the public) and on ways to influence their behaviour. Concern for structural reform is less important. Though proponents of this approach sometimes make use of data on arms expenditures and express the belief that there is a need for an alternative use of resources, they devote more effort to a critical analysis of approaches to national security and perceptions of it.

The type of disarmament education proposed in this model begins with a critical analysis of defence theories and military doctrines or policies. Narrow perceptions of national security are seen as the source of the problem. More armaments do not necessarily mean greater security—this is the major message. There must be an analysis of other ways in which national security could realistically be guaranteed. The "logic" of nuclear deterrence may be examined in this model; the economic impact of arms development, manufacture,

and sales may be analysed along with the estimated costs of conversion from military to non-military production.

This model also requires that the public have access to information about the arms expenditures of their own and other nations, the relation of these expenditures to legitimate defence, and the trade-offs between increasing arms and meeting basic social needs. It requires that citizens be able to obtain information about armaments from unofficial as well as government sources, that they have the opportunity to participate in discussions of processes of disarmament and goals of national security, and that policy makers take their views seriously. Free access to information on these issues results in a climate for real disarmament education.

When the connexion between national security and the arms races is neglected, discussions about disarmament frequently break down into arguments which place blame on other nations rather than exploring alternative solutions. It is essential to understand why people and governments rely on arms and a military approach rather than simply to denounce them. Teaching individuals to examine assumptions regarding national security will give them a strong basis of information for judging future events. This behavioural approach, which emphasizes the relation between education for disarmament and teaching about human rights, is promising for both formal and informal education—beginning with youth and extending throughout the life span.

Photo H.S. Wong © United Press International Corporation, New York

Among the most basic rights defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are those related to life and security of the person. Article 28 proclaims, "Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized".

This notion has been strongly stressed in Unesco's Medium Term Plan which declares:

"The assurance of human rights and the construction of peace are tasks that go hand-in-hand, no doubt because any war irremediably compromises the exercise of rights of all kinds, while denial of rights, in itself, inevitably ends by engendering violence; and because a peace based on inequality, domination, and exploitation, even if it could be maintained by compulsion, would be peace in name only".

It is clear that a climate of public opinion favouring reductions in armaments is one important component of the process of assuring stable peace, and that respect for human rights is equally important.

One may even contrast what might be called a negative spiral of events relating to national security with a positive spiral of such events. Military approaches to maintaining regimes in power and ensuring compliance from the population characterize many countries of the world. Positive motives may underlie the takeover of a government by the military (for example guiding a country through a stormy period with other nations). Within a short time, however, the military regime comes to be seen as an end in itself. The population nearly always finds itself ruled in an atmosphere of coercion and fear.

Use of national security as a justification for the deprivation of basic human rights initiates a negative spiral of events. The argument is made by those in power that national security requires the absence of dissent. Those who do dissent are punished, often in disregard of internationally agreed standards. In the spiralling climate of fear which results, it becomes impossible to examine the role which military power is playing in the nation's life. And this mentality also has an impact upon the country's international relations. It is not only that armaments are built up in a physical sense; it is also that psychological reliance upon coercion and threat internally builds a lack of trust in matters requiring international cooperation (which is especially important for disarmament).

In fact, serious international problems exist in promoting disarmament in countries where human rights are not respected. A government which is not subject to popular control is not likely to accept international controls. It may oppose international inspection because it fears that its human rights violations might be exposed or that its population might complain to outsiders. Other governments are reluctant to trust a government which maintains itself by force and by violating human rights. This limits the disarmament agreements which are possible with such a government. Initiatives which show the willingness of a government

Photo © J.P. Gourevitch, Paris

This postcard, produced during the First World War, is an example of how the visual media have often been used to glorify war. The caption reads "I sleep with my Rosalie every day"—Rosalie being a nickname which soldiers gave to their bayonets.

Posters are a highly effective instrument for alerting public opinion to the issues involved in disarmament education and in the struggle for peace and human rights. In the three posters, below, children are used to get the message across. Two of them constitute a direct indictment of war. "The Child and the Aircraft" (1937) denounces the bombing of civilians, which leaves children as corpses labelled with identification numbers. The text on the chest of the "Tattooed Baby" (1970), "Bless those who declare war, They're usually too old to fight and die", is a condemnation of those who sacrifice the lives of the young to the interests of a minority. The third, used in an election campaign in 1977, has a civic message: the boy's admonitory gesture and the text, "Think of the Year 2000", are designed to remind adults of their responsibility for the future of their country and its children.

Poster © Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris

Photo © J.P. Gourevitch, Paris

to comply with its human rights obligations will not only create an enhanced sense of trust on the part of citizens in that country but will allow a constructive exploration of alternative means for maintaining national security. This can set the stage for a gradual reduction of arms, which can build further trust.

The negative spiral of events, where power is maintained through coercive threat, may be contrasted with national security which is based on trust by the population that the government will respect basic civil and political rights and will work toward the achievement of social, economic, and cultural rights.

Many psychological theorists such as Erik Erikson speak of trust as an essential element in human psychological development. A variety of studies of political socialization conducted in many nations shows the extent to which young children express positive attitudes and trust in personal representatives of the political system. Although adolescents may be somewhat more cynical, the young person whose civic education is built upon a fund of trust which is based upon experience with respect for citizens' rights has a strong base which is seldom substantially eroded. In countries where respect for human rights has resulted in confidence in the government on the part of citizens, perceptions of national security can build on a foundation of psychological power. This is much stronger than the foundation of coercive power.

The actions taken by governments are part of the message about national security which students receive quite apart from any textbook or school lecture. Governments can do a variety of things to demonstrate movement toward a positive climate for disarmament education: allowing individuals free access to information from other nations, opening deliberations on military policy to public view, demonstrating willingness to co-operate with international human rights procedures, to name only a few.

content and status of international human rights instruments and procedures. At various levels of education people can be given experience in applying these universally accepted human rights principles to the analysis of specific current events. With respect to these cases the following questions might be asked: How does this event illustrate the respect or lack of respect for human rights? Which human rights? What concept of national security is illustrated? How might this event have been handled so that respect for human rights would have been enhanced and reliance on military or coercive power given less emphasis? What information about this event would citizens need in order to make informed judgements about it?

At a somewhat more advanced level, students might be asked to analyse the influence which culture and ideology have on perceptions of national security. Another topic would be the role of armaments and military ideology in the history of their own and other nations. Questions such as the following might be asked: To what extent are the high points of the country's history defined as battles won? When and in what context might negotiations have resulted in arms reduction? How might the history of the protection of human rights in this nation have been different if the government had taken different approaches to national security at various times in its history? In what cases have improvements in the respect for human rights by governments resulted in a climate for lessened reliance on force as a way of guaranteeing national security?

It is also valuable for students to examine public awareness of the issue of human rights and disarmament. How much information is available on current or projected economic priorities? On armaments? Can the concerned citizen obtain answers to questions about policies from governmental and non-governmental sources? Can he or she join with others to discuss issues of concern, explore alternatives, and make their conclusions known to policy makers?

Each of these topics can contribute to an educational programme the aim of which is to build support for approaches to national security based on respect for human rights, including freedom of information and discussion. These approaches are central to Unesco's mandate—to build support for disarmament and the reinforcement of peace.

■ Judith Torney and Leonard Gambrell

Photo © J.P. Gourevitch, Paris

Within the last few years the international community has seen movement in this positive direction in many countries; important steps have been taken toward establishing the climate in which disarmament education can take place. Young people in these countries now have an opportunity to learn that there are legitimate sources of social power which do not depend on coercion. They have thus developed a cornerstone of trust on which a positive view of national security can be built.

In summary, respect for human rights on the part of governments can build a climate of trust within and between nations which allows the exploration of non-military approaches to security and can lead to the negotiation of agreements regarding gradual disarmament. A positive spiral of events will then be created.

There are thus two parts to the core of education concerning disarmament. An analysis of alternatives to military power as ways of guaranteeing national security is central. Of equal importance is an analysis of the way in which respect for human rights by governments along with free access to information can build a climate of trust within and between nations so that gradual movement can be made toward disarmament.

Students need to become aware of the

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World opinion — the weapon to end all weapons

by
Liselotte Waldheim-Natural

THERE is today a widespread feeling that the arms race is made possible in part by public attitudes—belief that wars are inevitable, long-nurtured traditions associating military strength with national security, fascination with the *machismo* and magic of modern weaponry, and a deep-seated apathy which these other attitudes compound. Fortunately, this apathy is not universal; where it exists it is due not to indifference but to a lack of understanding of the complex problems involved and of the power of public opinion to influence events.

Learning about the problems of disarmament is not a simple matter. The average person may find it difficult to imagine the cataclysmic effects of a nuclear war, may not grasp the technical complexities of weapon systems or may not understand the jargon and concepts involved in disputes of the military theologians over strategic doctrines.

Disarmament is not a topic that readily attracts public interest—it is too complex, too technical, too political. Take a popular subject and we can generate a world campaign which nearly everyone hears about (the International Year of the Child, for example) but the effort to make the world a safer and more hospitable place for our children through disarmament has little appeal and not enough followers.

Disarmament is a long-term objective. It is a pursuit that will depend on the support of all citizens of the world today and on generations to come. But initially it involves governments with whom lies responsibility for reducing and eventually eliminating the arsenals of the world. However, each government operates within a climate of public opinion which, to a greater or lesser degree, places limits on the range of actions open to it. The purpose of disarmament education is to help create an informed public opinion able and willing to propose, encourage and support policies aimed at achieving international security through disarmament.

In dealing with disarmament education we confront the question not only of the best modes and methods of teaching but the question of content. What is the information we want to convey, and where do we get it?

Of course, it is not difficult to draw up a list of subjects to be taught. Such topics might include the status of arsenals and military forces of the nations of the world...the threat posed by nuclear weapons...the nature and deployment of nuclear systems...the relative balance of forces between countries or alliances...the cost of armaments and the military expenditures in each nation...the world arms trade and its role in promoting the arms race...trends in weapons-related research

and development...the costs of armaments of each nation...the role in national policy-making of the military establishment, of industry, of scientific and technological circles, and of the public...the prospects of redirecting military resources and facilities to peaceful purposes...disarmament and development...disarmament and the new international economic order...current arms control and disarmament negotiations, including those for a comprehensive nuclear test ban and a ban on chemical weapons...and of course the efforts of the international community to achieve disarmament agreements and to develop a system of international security based on the principles of the United Nations Charter.

We can also point to the variety of ways in which disarmament issues can be introduced in school courses: in biology, the effects of radiation on the organism...in chemistry, the nature of chemical weapons...in science courses, the nuclear fuel cycle, the effects of nuclear weapons, and the dangers of proliferation...in sociology, public attitudes towards concepts of military strength and disarmament...in economics, technological and industrial forces tending to perpetuate the arms race...in geography, the regional efforts to create nuclear-weapon-free zones...in history, the decades of proposals and counter-proposals for disarmament, and consideration of why there has been so little progress...even in language or semantics courses, which could examine such terms as "defence needs", "security interests" and "non-interference in the internal affairs of States".

Information is the core of education and it is necessary to recognize the difficulties that arise over questions of information, particularly in regard to sensitive information in the disarmament field. In fact, the information problem is central to the disarmament process itself—whether in regard to exchange of information for confidence-building purposes, verification methods to provide facts about compliance, questions of determining the facts on the level of forces or facts about the extent of military spending. Indeed, the lack of information universally accepted as reliable adds substantially to the difficulties of disarmament negotiations.

We need to have reliable, thorough, factual information, in order to develop sound and effective education programmes—and that brings us to one of the obstacles we face.

Let us take as an example the question of theatre nuclear weapons in Europe. NATO argues that it has fallen behind in its nuclear strength in Europe and requires the introduction of new missiles to restore the balance. The Warsaw Treaty countries maintain that there is approximate equality or even a favourable edge for Western forces, and that new missiles will upset the balance. Here is a crucial issue on which all Europeans would need to be well informed.

But what are the facts? Can a judgement be made unless we know the details concerning the relative capacities of arsenals, deployments, operational capabilities? Is such information available? Perhaps not. If one cannot tell students or the public the answers, then at least they should be made aware of the questions. To be aware of what you don't know is also necessary in developing an inquiring attitude.

If I seem to emphasize the need for factual reliable information, that is because I feel it is the only kind that can lead to qualified judgements capable of commanding the attention of sceptics. This may not be a problem in regard to the primary-level approach aimed at teaching the evils of warfare and weapons. But as the level of teaching or the sophistication of the audience goes up, so does the need for something more than slogans because the military and political establishments are more likely to be influenced by an analysis of the facts than by mere slogans.

Yet even with the best intentions, it will not be easy for schools or the media to meet the need for accurate and objective information. While there is no lack of material on disarmament discussions, negotiations and treaties, it consists largely of United Nations documents and publications written mainly for professionals which reach only a limited

Photo © Keystone, Paris

Photo Bernard Oudin © Editions du Chêne, Paris

Far left, masked and robed to symbolize horror and despair, anti-war demonstrators march through the rainy New York streets. Left, tombstone in Père-Lachaise cemetery, Paris.

The views expressed in this article do not necessarily represent those of the United Nations Centre for Disarmament.

Drawing © Polish Delegation to Unesco

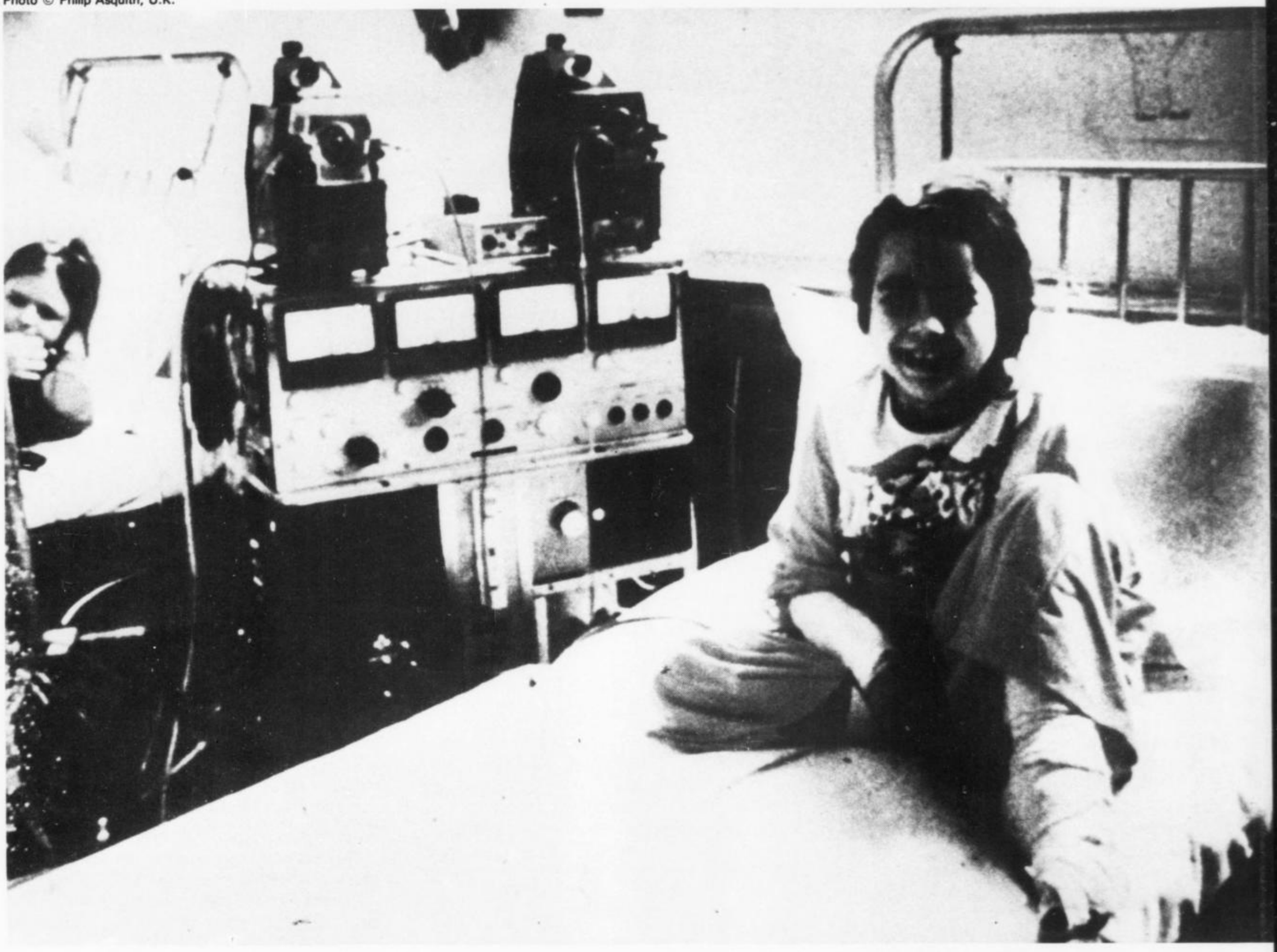
The story of Janusz Korczak (1878-1942) is both a tragic and inspiring example of individual heroism and a reminder that children are always the innocent victims of war. A Polish doctor and writer who devoted his life to the education of orphans, Korczak spurned offers of a safe escape from the Warsaw ghetto because he refused to be separated from the children in his charge. He accompanied them on their last journey and died with them at the Treblinka death camp (see *Unesco Courier,* June 1979). Drawing, left, by fourteen-year-old Maria Springer, was a prize-winning entry in a competition held in Poland to mark the centenary year of Korczak's birth.

The audio-visual media can powerfully dramatize the moral responsibility of each individual when faced with choices of peace and war. The film *Joseph Schultz* is the reconstruction of an event which actually took place during the Nazi invasion of Yugoslavia in the Second World War. After burning villages, a detachment of young troops was ordered to form a firing squad for a mass execution of partisans and civilians. The victims had been lined up against a haystack when Joseph Schultz, one of the members of the firing squad, refused to shoot and instead took his place among those to be killed. Photo below was taken at the time by one of the soldiers.

Photo © Military Museum archives, Belgrade

It is often said that the arms industry is a vital driving force in the economy, providing essential jobs and contributing to the balance of payments. However, many studies have shown that the reconversion of arms industries to non-military production would not present an insoluble problem. The life of the little girl, below, depends on an artificial kidney. The machine was one of several socially useful products featuring in a constructive plan prepared, when jobs were threatened by a cut-back in arms programmes, by employees of an engineering firm heavily dependent on military work.

Photo © Philip Asquith, U.K.



audience. U.N. files and publications are full of this kind of information which is both factual and objective. Facts about the arms race itself, however, come largely from private institutions and authors, each writing from his own standpoint. This kind of information also reaches only a limited public.

There is probably no government in the world which considers its own military establishment to have an accelerating impact on the arms race, or that it could conceivably have an "aggressive" purpose. On the contrary, each government maintains and believes that its forces are only for defence, that because of country A's weapons or country B's supposed ambitions it must call for just one more round of weapons or one more strategic foothold. For you and me, this means only one thing—another leap in the arms race. But to those involved it means "keeping the balance" or "closing the gaps", or "ensuring adequate defence"—even, in some cases, that old favourite, arming to build a position of strength in disarmament negotiations.

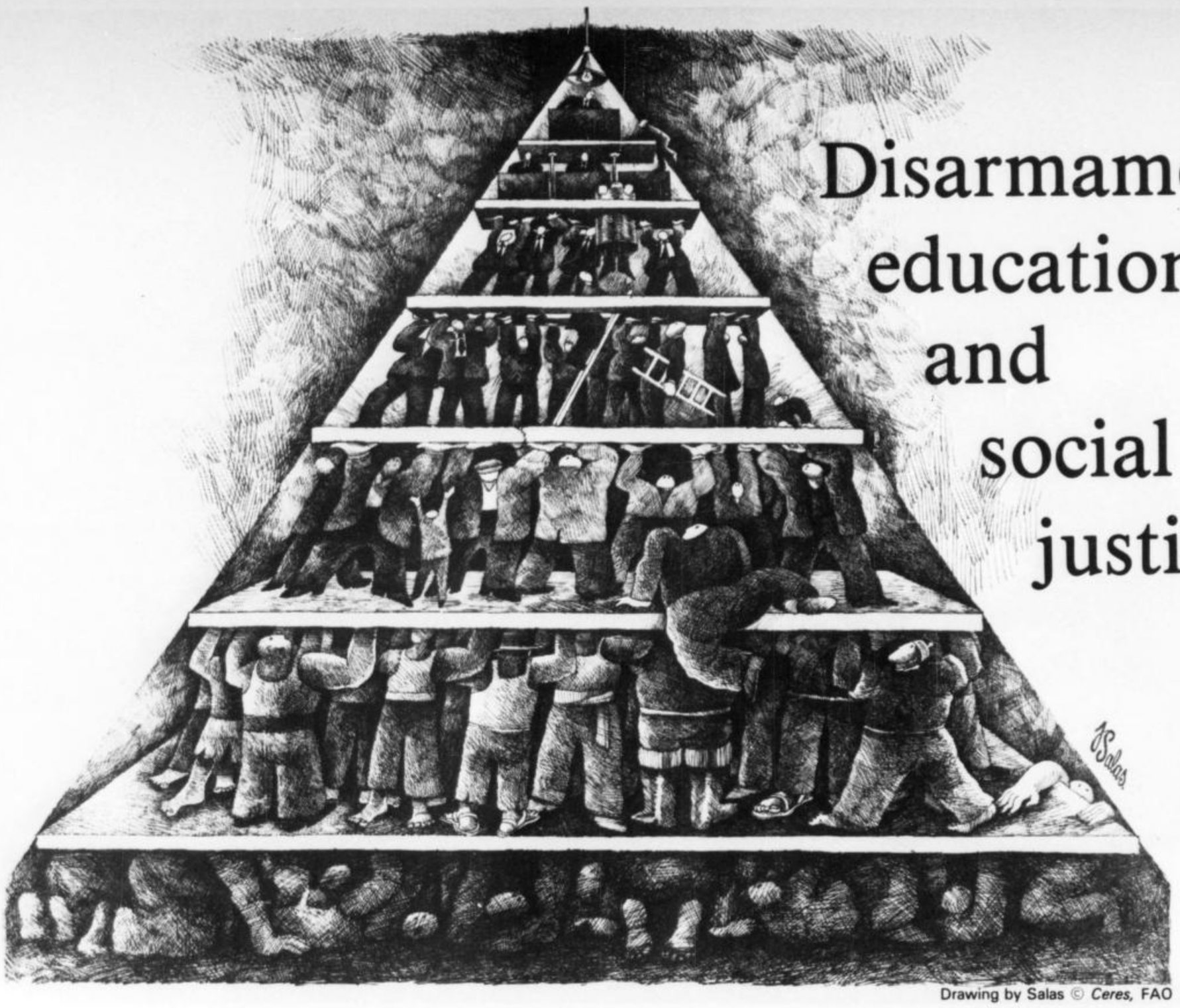
So the truth is elusive, lost or hidden behind excuses for remaining armed to the teeth. Yet we must make the effort to find the truth, to learn the hard facts about hardware while gaining insight into our perceptions of one another that give rise to automatic suspicions and exaggerated and dangerous fears. To be effective, the case put forward by proponents of disarmament must be sufficiently well-informed to refute the positions of the military experts involved in decision-making, and solid enough to convince the vast segment of the public which in many countries tends to accept the official view on the need for more rather than less arms.

Let me state the problem in another way: if the information made available for dissemination differs from country to country and is tailored to each country's particular viewpoint, will that kind of information and education really help to mobilize public opinion in such a way as to promote disarmament? Or might it in fact merely encourage enthusiasm for arms reductions to be carried out by others? Disarmament education must clearly be undertaken to the furthest possible extent on an international and universal basis.

I do not believe there is a need to create a demand in one country for the disarmament of another. That mobilization may contribute to the arms race rather than oppose it. What we need to do, in all frankness, is to invite all people—east or west, north or south—to consider the possibility that yes, their country too may also be a participant in the arms race. There is a chance to achieve progress if people will take an inquiring attitude towards their own national policies.

Liselotte Waldheim-Natural

LISELOTTE WALDHEIM-NATURAL *is head of the Geneva Unit of the Centre for Disarmament, United Nations Department of Political and Security Council Affairs.*



Disarmament education and social justice

Drawing by Salas © *Ceres*, FAO

by Jaime Díaz

THE Third World has for the most part been absent from discussions on disarmament, because it is wrongly believed that this problem solely concerns the superpowers, or the club of countries possessing nuclear weapons. For the same reason, "disarmament education" seems rather out of place, particularly in Latin America, a region that has always been considered to be removed from the international conflicts which are so frequent in other parts of the world.

Latin American eyes see the arms race, disarmament and disarmament education from a different angle. In the industrialized countries, when the arms race is discussed, reference is made to physical arms (with all the technological development that has taken place this century) and to formal warfare. These arms are acquired and used by other countries for formal warfare via the armaments trade, which means that it is possible to distinguish the manufacturers/vendors and the victims, i.e. the users. At the same time, we observe that the great powers, instead of coming into direct confrontation with each other, wage war through the intermediary of lesser powers which thus virtually become their symbol.

'Arms are the symptom of a deep-seated ill which must be tackled at its roots'

In Latin America the most costly weapons are imported, even though they are by then obsolete in the producing countries. To acquire these weapons, sums of money out of all proportion to the countries' resources are expended.

Following the lead of the rich industrial countries, our countries are beginning to produce easy-to-build military equipment, whilst the rich countries reserve for themselves the production of large expensive items and the most profitable business. The multinational firms make profits either by exporting directly or authorizing manufacture under licence. Arms sales take place without restriction either through the official market or clandestinely.

Governments use arms mostly to suppress "subversion". However, the term "subversion" is used arbitrarily to describe any attempt to change the prevailing political and economic order.

Thus, the concept of warfare is different: it is not so much formal or direct warfare as economic and social warfare, which slowly amasses great numbers of victims, without the attendant tumult of war on the battlefield, through malnutrition, illness, unemployment and lack of training, coupled with the political powerlessness of the victims to change the system.

Disarmament, as viewed from Latin America, would first of all involve eliminating the basic ills that lead to social violence and hence to the use of arms. Arms are not a cause but an effect; they are not the problem but the symptom of a deep-seated ill which must be tackled at its roots.

In this context, our first reaction as educators, on surveying the world scene and the situation in our own region, is that the task is virtually impossible. Furthermore, there appears to be a serious contradiction between government actions towards disarmament and government actions furthering the arms race and militarism, with those responsible for the latter constantly seeking

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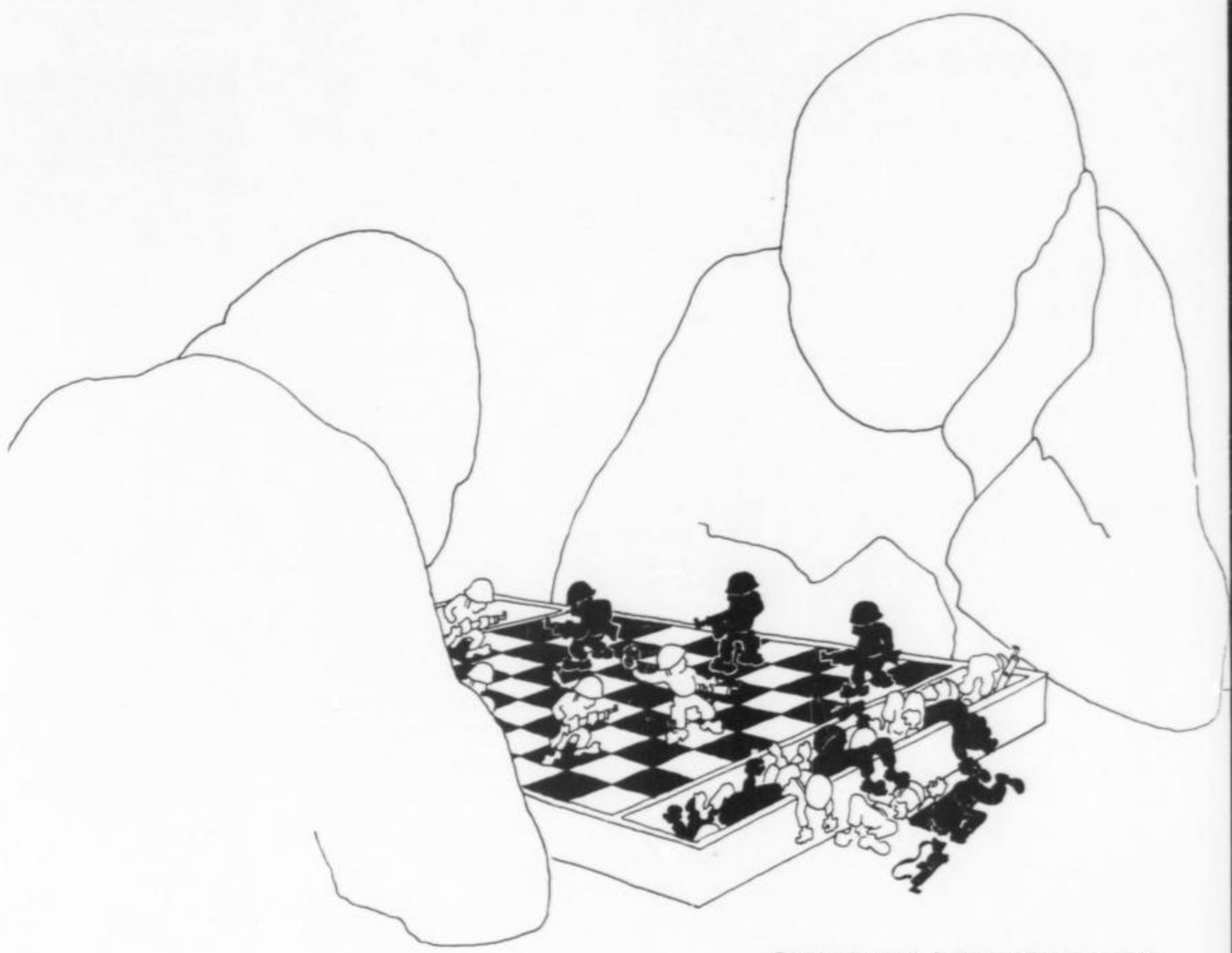


Drawing by Konk © Editions Ouvrières, Paris

to justify themselves on ideological grounds, using all the mass media, and exploiting to the full peoples' unhappy memories and cultural stereotypes of enemy countries.

But despite the daunting size of the obstacles, and indeed precisely because of them, effective action towards disarmament, particularly in the field of education, is becoming a matter of vital urgency.

The objective of disarmament education is not just to halt or eliminate the arms race, but also to seek "non-military", peaceful alternatives for solving problems between countries. It is not, therefore, a purely negative education, seeking to eliminate an acute evil, but a positive education aimed at initiating and promoting new ways of achieving human coexistence.

From the point of view of the so-called Third World countries, pursuit of such an objective involves identifying, denouncing and critically examining in both theory and practice the "myths" of militarism and the arms race in the world which are greatly amplified by the mass media; examining in detail the basic causes of violence; analysing the mechanisms of direct or indirect warfare at the national and international levels and their relationships with political systems and economic interests; denouncing injustice at all levels; and dedicating oneself to the task of building a world based on equity instead of repression or exploitation.

The values of war and the values of peace are in opposition to each other. Disarmament education therefore has to take a different direction, i.e. create its own set of values. We have in fact reached the paradoxical situation where the most sophisticated and costly arms race is justified precisely on the grounds of maintaining peace, yet this peace is nothing but a cold war based on official lying, fear, mistrust, the lust for power and profit, and the maintenance of a violent political and economic system whose leaders are firmly resolved to survive even at the expense of the greater part of mankind.

For peace we need a fundamental consistency between what is said and what is done: that is to say a world where truth is the norm; where the prevailing attitudes are ones of sincere co-operation; of trust; of open-mindedness to others precisely because they are different and not merely on the basis of the extent to which they fit into our own cultural, economic, political or ideological universe; of respect for genuine self-determination of peoples; where it is recognized that, as long as the basic needs of all people remain unsatisfied, we are at war; and where it is accepted that conflicts should be able to be solved in a human way, i.e. not through physical force or the law of the jungle but rather by negotiation and consensus and even legitimate moral pressure, which is frequently necessary for just causes to be acknowledged.

The fundamental value, recognized as transcending all ideological and religious differences, is man. Every system must be at the service of man, of all men, not just a few; of all nations, not just certain ones among them; there can be no progress along the road to peace as long as the well-being and extravagance of a minority are being financed by the sweat and toil of deprived multitudes.

Education must create personal attitudes, develop ethical values in both theory and practice and stimulate initiative. But for this a global approach to the problem is necessary, so that it can be assessed and dealt with progressively in both its political and economic dimensions.

This means learning how to look at the social world and assess it from the point of view of others, particularly when these others are the immense multitude of the non-privileged.

Disarmament education from the point of view described above is more a state of mind than a subject or a topic; it is more a feature of social education than a new area of study; it is more a process than a theory; and it is more a thing of the future than something developed from the past.

■ **Jaime Diaz**

The structure of hunger

by Muzammel Huq

WE live today in a world in which there is not much cause for optimism.

Huge sums of money are being spent on arms that could and should be spent on development and in meeting the crying needs of the Third World. Meanwhile, the arms race continues, more than half a million of the world's best scientists are employed in perfecting ever more sophisticated weapons, and military research and development accounts for more than seventy per cent of all scientific research being carried out in the world. The waste of resources involved is evident to all, but it must be remembered that some individuals and organizations are making enormous profits out of this situation.

At the same time, Third World countries are afflicted by poverty, hunger and malnutrition, which are due, it is claimed, to the population explosion. But the causes of hunger are structural; people do not go hungry because food is not available. Even in 1974, during the worst food crisis the world has known, stocks of grain were sufficient to provide for everyone in the world. But more and more people are unable to pay for the food they need. Unless and until structural changes are made in the production system, increase in agricultural products will have little effect on the causes of hunger.

South Asia today, for example, has a twenty-two million ton food surplus and at the same time millions of people in the region are starving. Hunger is, therefore, a matter of structure rather than of production and a rise in production alone cannot alleviate world hunger.

Development programmes established for Third World countries are directly linked to the militarization of several of these countries. Technology and ideas are being introduced into highly structured societies, even though no analysis has been made of the socio-economic consequences they entail, simply because they are linked to the existing world military order.

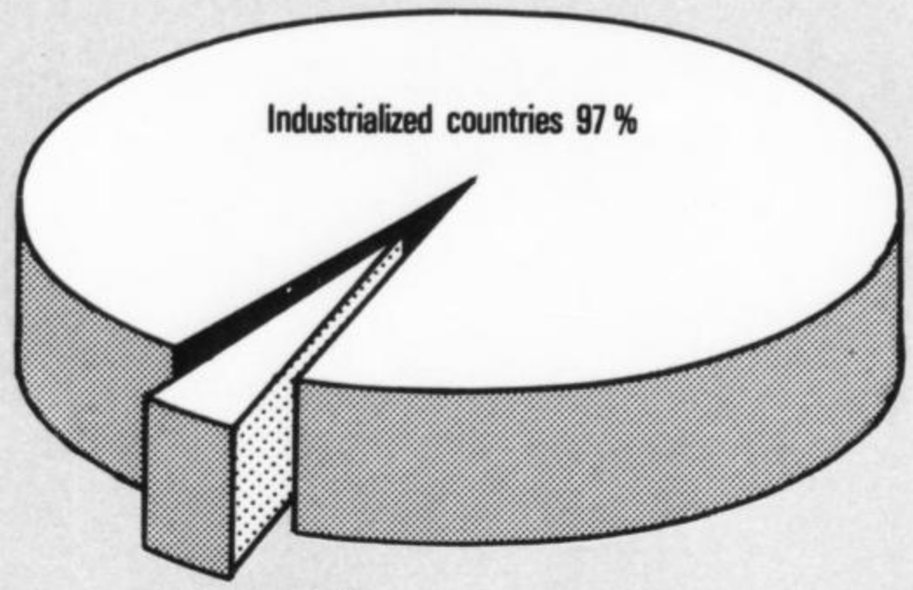
Perhaps the time has come for every nation to re-examine the whole concept of national security. Whose security is being defended, that of an economic or political class, or that of the entire population of the country? Wages are kept down and cheap labour enclaves maintained, strikes are prevented and supplies of raw material are obtained from the Third World at low prices, all in the name of national security. This is a dangerous concept which must be abandoned.

Militarization of the police and of paramilitary organizations is going ahead at a tremendous pace in the Third World today. And this militarization is required to support the internal power structure and to maintain the *status quo* within various developing countries.

There are a few glimmers of hope. Throughout the world today there is growing concern about military establishments and the resources they are monopolizing. Another encouraging factor is that the myth that defence industries generate employment is no longer believed. Research has shown that investment in any other field than armaments manufacture would generate more employment, whether in the industrialized or the Third World. Thus, without a serious re-examination of the existing military order it will not be possible to establish a new and more just world order. ■

MUZAMMEL HUQ, *of Bangladesh, is director of the Institute for the Study of Rural Resources, Noakhali, Bangladesh. He is the author of a number of works on militarism, development and human rights. Since 1968 he has been a close collaborator of Amnesty International. This article is based on a speech made at the international Peace Forum, held in November 1979 at Unesco headquarters in Paris.*

THE ARMS TRADE



Source : *Armaments or Disarmament*, SIPRI Brochure 1980.

Arms exporting countries (1970-1979)

The arms trade affects the economies of importing and exporting countries in diametrically opposite ways. It is a highly unequal exchange which is detrimental to efforts to bridge the gap between poor and rich countries. For the importer it is purely and simply a waste of economic resources which could have been used productively. Even when weapons are provided as gifts, operation and infrastructure costs must be included on the debit side. In contrast to the import of non-military goods these outlays raise neither consumption nor production and generate no future output from which to pay for them. Not so for the exporting country. That part of its arms production which is destined for its own armed forces constitutes, at first approximation, an economic loss. But its production of weapons for export is no different in economic terms from any other export production. In some cases it may be in fact more advantageous than other kinds of export because the advanced-technology component in arms exports is particularly high. These exports therefore tend to stimulate important sectors of the economy of the exporting country, such as mechanical engineering, electronics and the industries supplying these sectors.

Costa Rica : the country that abolished its army

by Julio Rodríguez Bolaños

IN a world which spends 500,000 million dollars a year on weapons, it may seem strange that one country, Costa Rica, has had no army for the last thirty years.

Costa Rica became independent of Spain on 15 September 1821, along with the rest of Central America. The region immediately became the scene of power struggles, but the Costa Ricans sat down to thrash out a political constitution. This document, completed only a matter of days after the achievement of independence, was significantly entitled the "Pact of Concord".

From the document and its title three conclusions may be deduced about the Costa Ricans. Firstly, they were not interested in exploitation nor in enjoying the prizes of power but in establishing a legally constituted State, based on laws and respect for the rights of others. Secondly, faced with the choice between liberty and peace, the Costa Ricans were able to preserve both without bloodshed. Thirdly, the man of law, the statesman and the citizen prevailed over the military, a situation which led to what became a permanent feature of Costa Rican democracy: a deep-rooted concern for education.

This unflagging commitment to education was the underlying premise of the abolition of the army in 1949. A poor country cannot afford the luxury of maintaining soldiery and at the same time educating its people. Army and education, barracks and school, military ranks and academic degrees are contradictory concepts for a developing country, especially one set on guaranteeing to all its citizens the right to health.

Under the Costa Rican constitution, policing and security are carried out by Civil Guards, workmen and peasant farmers who leave their workshops every four years when a new government takes office. Four years later they return to their usual occupations. If this is not a model of professional efficiency, it has proved its worth in maintaining a democratic system.

Rejection of force has brought force to Costa Rica. It is a mark of the country's pride. The Costa Ricans are convinced that the only use of armies and arsenals would be to imprison their fellow citizens, and that if man was endowed by God with reason, then he has no cause to seek security in arms. The abolition of our army has brought us a number of advantages, the most important of which is the opportunity to devote 35 per cent of the national budget to education and an equivalent amount to health.

It was against this background that the President of Costa Rica, Mr. Rodrigo Carazo, presented to the 33rd General Assembly of the United Nations on 27 September 1978, a project for the creation of a University for Peace, which would be based in Costa Rica and would be the country's contribution to the attainment of this fundamental human right. The project was approved on 14 December 1979. The structure of the University is being handled by a Commission which has met twice this year, in June at United Nations Headquarters, and in September at San José, the capital of Costa Rica.

Hitherto peace has been the end of one war and the prelude to new armed conflicts. The aim of the University for Peace is to make the study of peace a genuine discipline for research and teaching which will be central to all educational programmes from the kindergarten to the university. Peace can and should be taught. As Costa Rica's President declared at the United Nations : "The 21st century will be a peaceful one or it will not be at all". ■

JULIO RODRÍGUEZ BOLAÑOS, *Costa Rican journalist, is adviser to the President of the Republic of Costa Rica and co-ordinator of the project for the creation of a University for Peace.*

Photo Dominique Roger; Unesco

Ten principles for disar

1

Relation of Education to Disarmament

Disarmament education, an essential component of peace education, implies both education about disarmament and education for disarmament. All who engage in education or communication may contribute to disarmament education by being aware and creating an awareness of the factors underlying the production and acquisition of arms, of the social, political, economic and cultural repercussions of the arms race and of the grave danger for the survival of humanity of the existence and potential use of nuclear weapons.

2

Definition of Disarmament

For the purpose of disarmament education, disarmament may be understood as any form of action aimed at limiting, controlling or reducing arms, including unilateral disarmament initiatives, and, ultimately, general and complete disarmament under effective international control. It may also be understood as a process aimed at transforming the current system of armed nation States into a new world order of planned unarmed peace in which war is no longer an instrument of national policy and peoples determine their own future and live in security based on justice and solidarity.

3

Role of Information

Disarmament education requires the collection and dissemination of reliable information from sources offering the highest degree of objectivity in accordance with a free and more balanced international flow of information. It should prepare learners, in the strict respect for freedom of opinion, expression and information, to resist incitement to war, military propaganda and militarism in general.

4

Relation to Economic and Political Realities

Disarmament education cannot, however, confine itself to the dissemination of data and information on disarmament projects and prospects nor even to commenting on the hopes and ideals which inspired them. It should recognize fully the relationship disarmament has with achieving international security and realizing development. To be effective in this regard, disarmament education should be related to the lives and concerns of the learners and to the political realities within which disarmament is sought and should provide insights into the political, economic and social factors on which the security of peoples could be based.

5

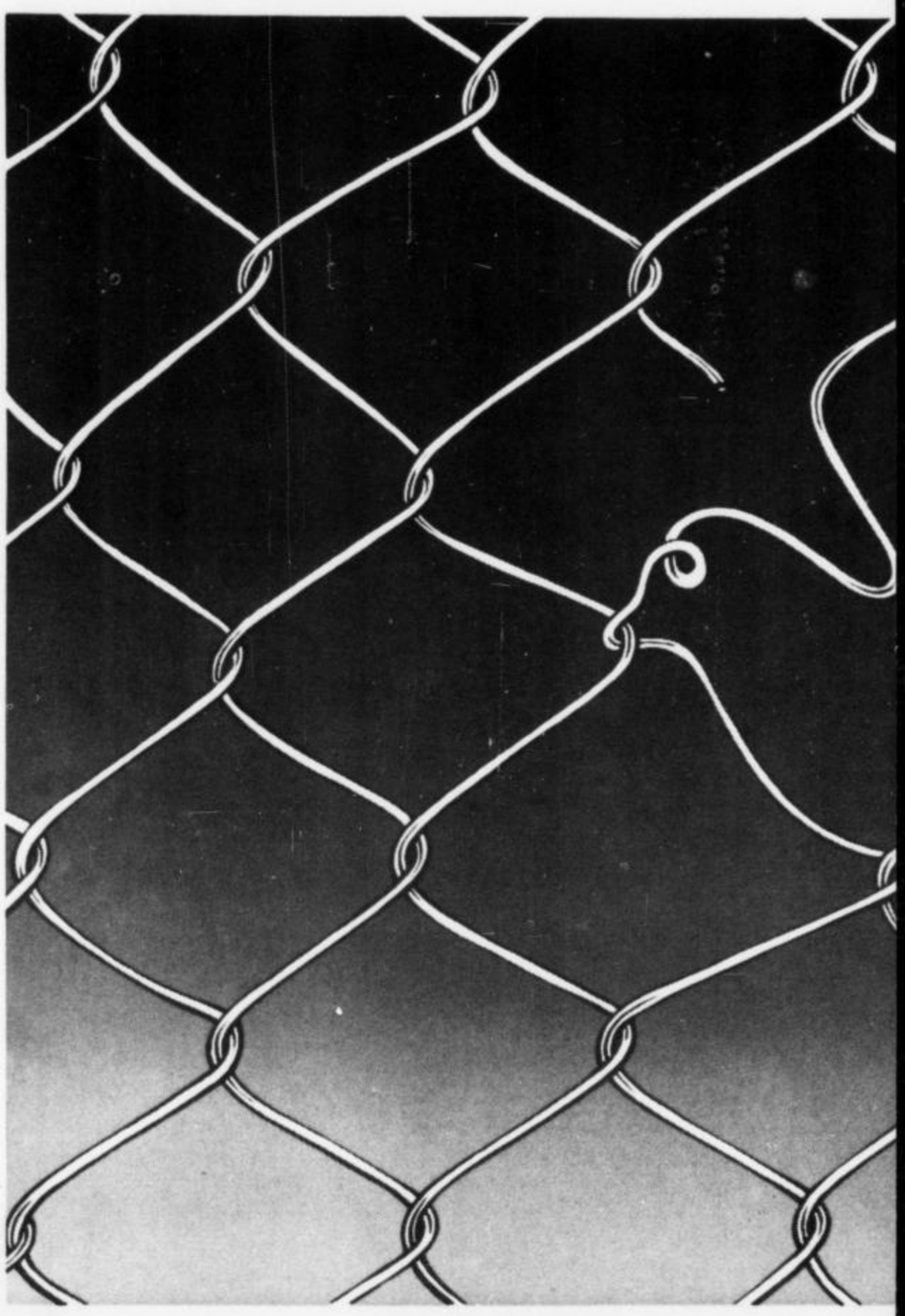
Research and Decision-making

In addition to reaching the general public, disarmament education has a more specific and equally crucial task of providing rational arguments for disarmament based on independent scientific research which can guide decision-makers and, to the extent possible, rectify perceptions of a potential adversary based on incomplete or inaccurate information.

6

Substantive Approaches

As an approach to international peace and security, disarmament education should take due account of the principles of international law based on the Charter of the United Nations, in particular, the refraining from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States, the peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention in domestic affairs and self-determination of



Poster © V.G. Sato, Tokyo

September 1980

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news from unesco

Von Ditfurth Receives Kalinga Prize

IN a ceremony this summer Unesco Director-General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow presented the Kalinga Prize for the popularization of science to Dr. Hoimar von Ditfurth, scientist, writer and television personality from the Federal Republic of Germany. Mr. M'Bow noted that the prize had been established in 1951 by an Indian industrialist, Mr. Betjayanak Patnaik. He had been inspired to do so by the example of the Emperor Asoka, ruler of the Kalinga empire in India, who more than 20 centuries ago had renounced the use of force and conquest and turned instead to the pursuit of knowledge and the welfare of his subjects.

Dr. von Ditfurth, the Director-General added, was a specialist who had the ability not only to explain to the layman the substance of new scientific knowledge but also to make clear its impact on everyday life. Himself a scientist, he had exploited to the full the potential of not only books, newspapers and magazines, but also radio and television, particularly since 1969 when he had resigned his post as director of psycho-pharmacological research in a large pharmaceutical firm in order to devote his full time to explaining science in popular terms.

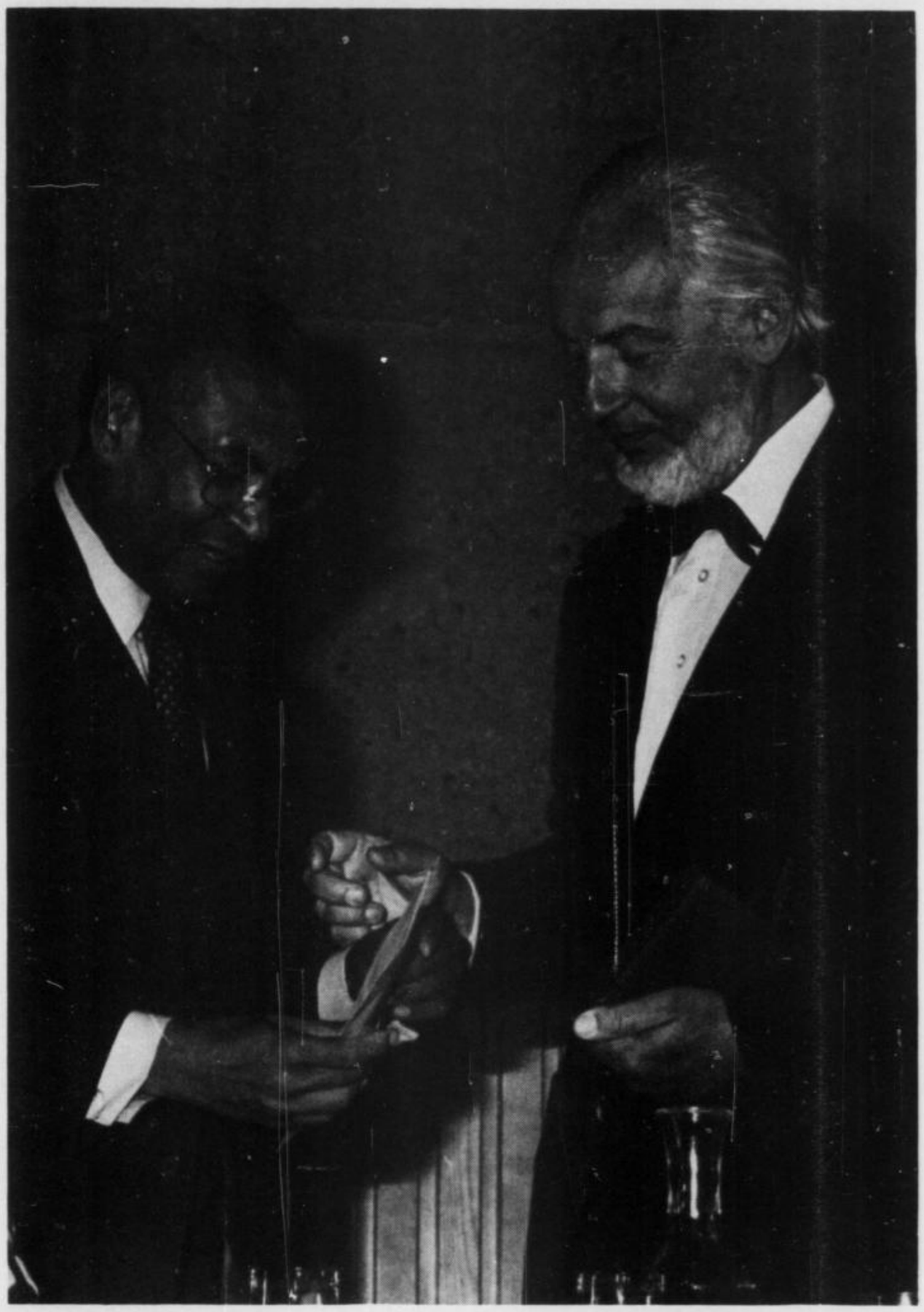


Photo Unesco/Marcel Salvaro

Dr. Hoimar von Ditfurth (right) receives the Kalinga Prize for the Popularization of Science from the Director-General.

Communications development in Africa discussed at Unesco Conference

AN Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Africa, was held in Yaoundé, Cameroon, from 22 to 31 July.

In his opening address to the conference, Unesco Director-General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow analysed trends and practices in communication in Africa and in the world, stressing the opportunity put before humanity by the prodigious progress of science and technology in this field.

A universal effort of wisdom could ensure that communication became a factor of dignity, justice, peace and solidarity among nations as well as an instrument of reciprocity, liberty and equality, he said.

Stressing the importance of international co-operation at the regional and sub-regional levels, the Director-General underlined the role of the Organization of African Unity in undertaking a project to which all wished a brilliant future: the creation of a pan-African press agency.

Newly independent Zimbabwe was represented for the first time at a Unesco meeting when Mr. Justin Nyoka, secretary-general of the Ministry of Information and Tourism, attended the Yaoundé conference.

"It is through a hard struggle that Zimbabwe has won the right to make its voice heard in an international conference," Mr. M'Bow told the meeting. "Its presence here among us marks a new setback for apartheid".

Cameroon President Ahmadou Ahidjo said the work of the conference met a vital necessity felt by all people of goodwill: that of reducing the imbalances and historical dependencies in the field of information and communication and of constructing a new system of international relations based on equality between peoples and solidarity between nations.

The Yaoundé Conference was the third in a series on communication policies in regions around the world; one for Latin America and the Caribbean was held in Costa Rica in 1976, and another for Asia and Oceania in Malaysia in 1979.

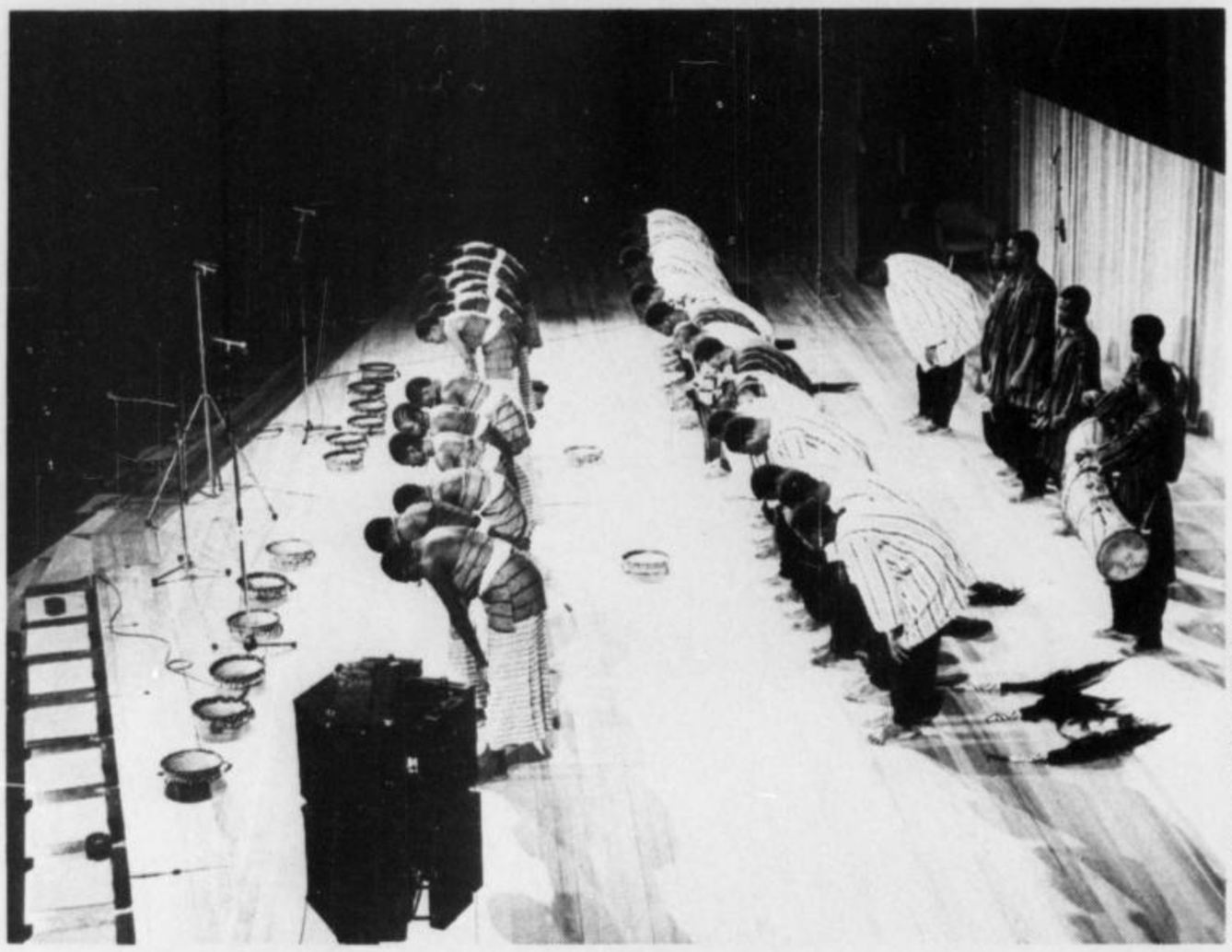


Photo Unesco/Marcel Salvaro

Upper Volta Choral Group Performs at Unesco

WITH the assistance of the International Fund for the Promotion of Culture, the Chorale Naaba Sanom of Upper Volta presented a concert this summer at Unesco. The programme of traditional songs and dances was enthusiastically received.

1500th Anniversary of the Hegira

TO mark the beginning of celebrations of the 1500th anniversary of the Hegira, Unesco organized a series of public lectures on Islam, philosophy and science at headquarters this summer.

The first, on tolerance in prophetic action, was delivered by Professor Hamidullah, a researcher at the French Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS), Paris, and author of several well-known works on the history of Islamic culture.

Professor Jolivet, of the Paris Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, examined the development of philosophy and its relationship with Islam in the centuries preceding Avicenna, and Professor Jacques Berque, of the Collège de France, spoke on innovation in modern day Islam. Professor Rashed, a CNRS researcher, analysed the relationship between Islam and the development of scientific thought, showing that Islamic society was the principal centre of scientific production until the 9th century of the Hegira (the 15th century of the Christian era).

Unesco Helps Brazil with Post-graduate Chemistry Training

UNESCO has been entrusted with the execution, in Brazil, of a project for high level university training in chemistry at the State University of Campinas to which UNDP financial assistance amounting to $840,000 has been allocated.

The purpose of the project is to develop a post-graduate programme of training for research scientists and teachers at the university's Institute of Chemistry. The Campinas University is an important Latin American university which has grown rapidly. Twelve years after its creation, it is today training staff for most of the major universities in Brazil as well as for some establishments abroad.

It has been set up in a region of Brazil where there are many industrial enterprises which vary in size, some of which are still obliged to make use of qualified foreign personnel. Hence the importance of training high level chemists who in turn will train other specialists or who will work in these firms and thus reduce Brazil's dependence on foreign expertise. Students at the Institute will receive training adapted to the particular requirements of the region.

The project encourages training and research in fields of special interest to developing countries (such as the detection and prevention of tropical diseases such as Chagas disease and schistosomiasis) and in areas of more general concern (such as the development of fossil fuel and alternative energy resources).

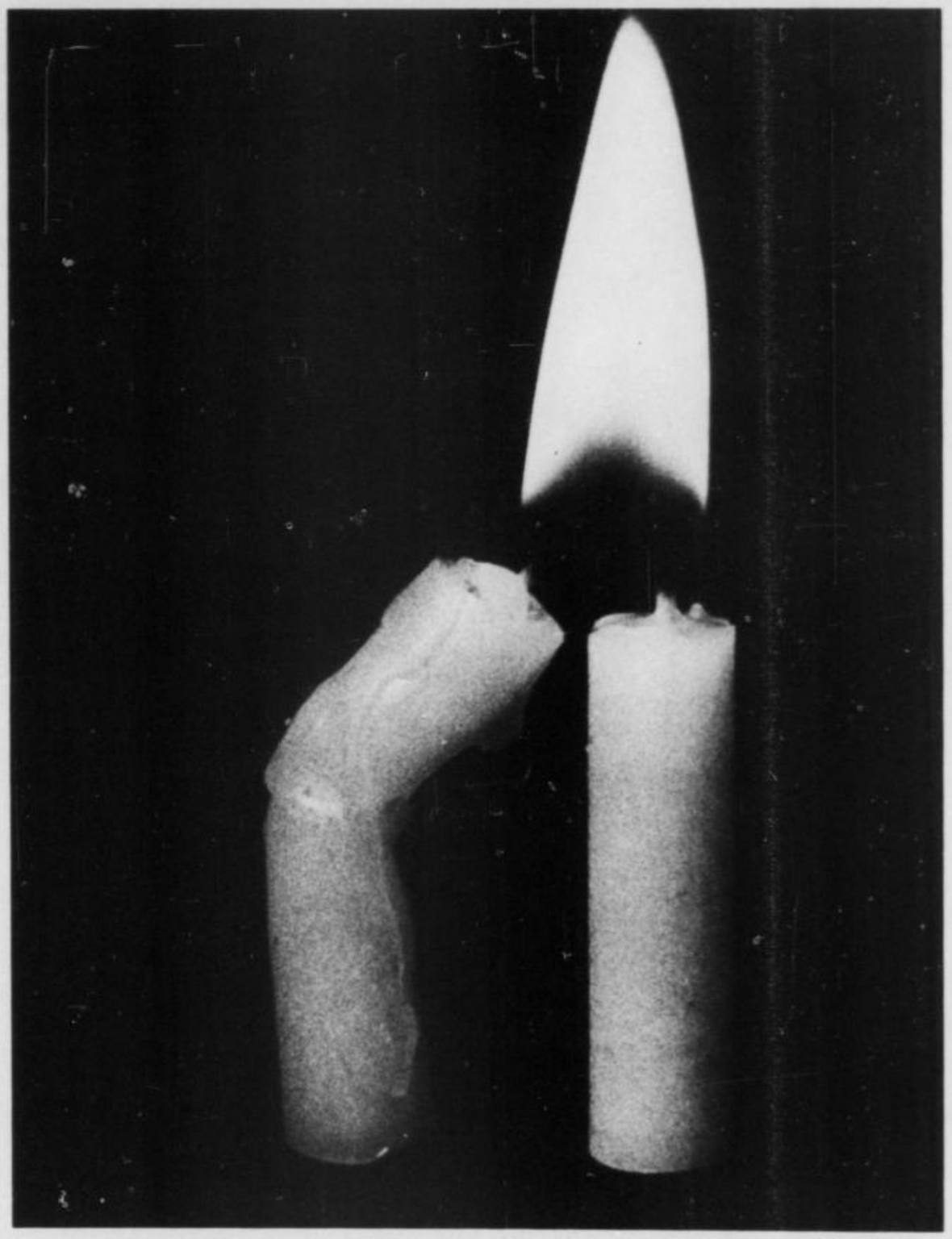


Photo Unesco/Michel Claude

International Year for Disabled Persons

THE above design by Jacek Cwikla, of Poland, has been chosen for Unesco's poster-calendar for 1981, International Year for Disabled Persons, in a contest organized by Unesco and the International Council of Graphic Design Associations. Thirty-four graphic designs by artists from Canada, Finland, France, German Democratic Republic, Ireland, Israel, Poland, Sweden and Turkey were presented for final selection by an international jury at Unesco's Paris headquarters on March 17. The jury gave second prize to Vasco Ceccon of Canada and third prize to Karl-Georg Gerasch of the German Democratic Republic.

"Impact" Spotlights Bias Against Women Scientists

"ONE of the oldest and seemingly irrevocable forms of apartheid is the segregation of women from men. ... There is not a national society in which the attempt is not made to force the female to live, train, work, love and languish in the shadow of her male congeners. ...We are forced to include, in these areas, science and technology. ... How many women are serving as ministers of research or education, how many as university presidents or deans or full professors of science, engineering, mathematics? How many women are to be found at or near the top in manufacturing enterprises, research institutes, 'think tanks'? How many of our men readers work for a woman?

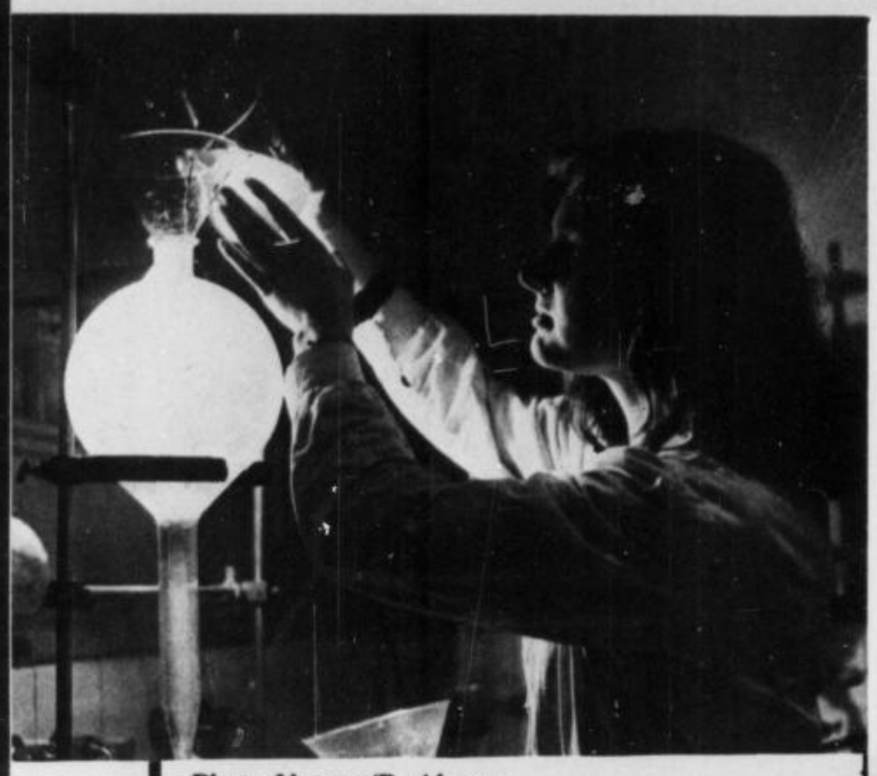


Photo Unesco/P. Almasy

"The ugly concept of sexual segregation continues to thrive even among the educated men and women operating in the varied domains of science and technology." —**Impact,** *Vol. 30, No. 1.*

How many would do so willingly, reliably, and democratically? The answers lie in the questions themselves."

With these words in a leading editorial, the journal "Impact of Science on Society" opens the third issue it has consecrated to the problems of women in science. This most recent issue (Vol. 30, No. 1) contains articles by women technicians from nine countries: Algeria, Burma, Costa Rica, Hungary, Mali, Mexico, New Zealand, Peru and Romania. Among the subjects covered: The historical status of women in Peru; African traditions and the Mali woman; Women scientists and engineers in Burma; Women technical graduates in Hungary; Today's woman and mass communication; Women scientists in New Zealand—why so few ? Science, development and women's emancipation.

A tenth contribution entitled "Whither women's rights?" presents the results of a survey on the question carried out by 20 well-known journalists—seven of them women—in 16 countries.

Action Urged to Solve Problems of Rural Youth in Latin America

ISOLATION, poverty, exploitation, lack of work and access to land, cultural segregation, non-participation in decision-making—these are some of the major problems facing rural young people in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Experts from the region taking part in a recent Unesco meeting in Bridgetown, found that the problems of rural youth were part and parcel of the broader national and international problems facing their countries. As such, they required solutions which could only be found in structural change, which the experts defined as "economic, social, political and cultural transformation both of the role of the region within the world community and of the different national societies within the region itself."

The focal point of this transformation, they said, should be "genuine agrarian reforms that eliminate poverty and achieve a just redistribution not only of land but also of economic and political power."

The Bridgetown meeting also called on governments of the region to formulate and implement comprehensive national youth policies to promote "young people's active, conscious and critical participation in development." Far-reaching educational reforms were also required, the participants noted, with the special aim of linking education much more closely than at present to socio-economic realities, particularly productive labour."

While recognizing the paramount responsibility of governments for work with rural young people, the meeting also stressed the important role of national and international non-governmental organizations in detecting problems and experimenting with solutions.

A New Instrument for Electronic Music

Photo International Music Council

THE keyboard resembles that of a teletype machine rather than a piano or organ, but it's actually a musical instrument—the S-52, built by a Swiss electronics firm according to the theories laid down by Alain Daniélou in his book "La Sémantique Musicale". With a range of eight octaves divided into 52 intervals each, the instrument was demonstrated by Daniélou at Unesco during the Composers' Rostrum of the International Music Council. Intended principally as a research tool for the study and analysis of non-European music, it can also be used for experimental work in contemporary composition.

peoples. It should also draw upon the international law of human rights and international humanitarian law applicable in time of armed conflict and consider alternative approaches to security, including such non-military defence systems as non-violent civilian action. The study of United Nations efforts, of confidence-building measures, of peace-keeping, of non-violent conflict resolution and of other means of controlling international violence take on special importance in this regard. Due attention should be accorded in programmes of disarmament education to the right of conscientious objection and the right to refuse to kill.

Disarmament education should provide an occasion to explore, without prejudging the issue, the implications for disarmament of the root causes of individual and collective violence and the objective and subjective causes of tensions, crises, disputes and conflicts which characterize the current national and international structures reflecting factors of inequality and injustice.

7

Links with Human Rights and Development

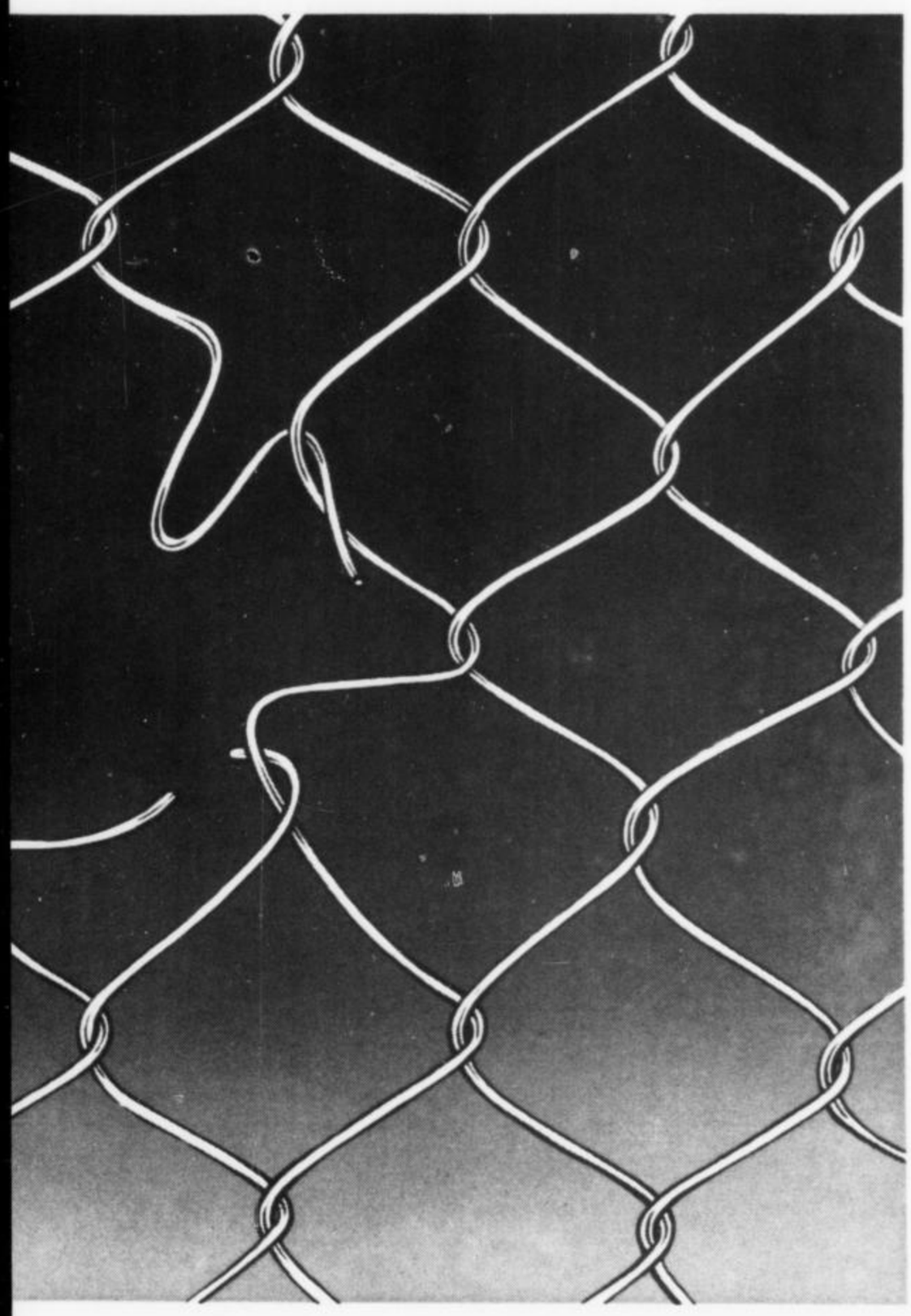
As an integral part of peace education, disarmament education has essential links with human rights education and development education, in so far as each of the three terms *peace, human rights* and *development* must be defined in relation to the other two. Moreover, disarmament education offers an occasion to elucidate emerging concepts such as the individual and collective rights to peace and to development, based on the satisfaction of material and non-material human needs.

8

Pedagogical Objectives

Whether conceived as education in the spirit of disarmament, as the incorporation of relevant materials in existing disciplines or as the development of a distinct field of study, disarmament education should apply the most imaginative educational methods, particularly those of participatory learning, geared to each specific cultural and social situation and level of education. It aims at teaching *how* to think about disarmament rather than *what* to think about it. It should therefore be problem-centred so as to develop the analytical and critical capacity to examine and evaluate practical steps towards the reduction of arms and the elimination of war as an acceptable international practice.

mament education



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Values

Disarmament education should be based upon the values of international understanding, tolerance of ideological and cultural diversity and commitment to social justice and human solidarity.

10

Sectors of Society Concerned

Disarmament education should be the concern of all sectors of society and public opinion. Indeed, schools, non-formal and informal education circles such as the family, community organizations and the world of work, universities and other research centres and information media, all have a part to play in this task. Educators and communicators should strive to develop the most appropriate and effective language and teaching methods for each situation. The challenge is all the greater as the stakes are so high.

The Ten Principles for Disarmament Education *are taken from the Report and Final Document drawn up at the World Congress on Disarmament Education, Paris, June 1980.*

"From the dawn of consciousness
until 6 August 1945,
man had to live
with the prospect of his death
as an individual.
Since the day when the first atomic bomb
outshone the sun over Hiroshima,
mankind as a whole has had to live with the prospect
of its extinction as a species."
(Arthur Koestler)

Photo © Luc Joubert, Paris

Above, *La Foule Illuminée,* a sculpture by Raymond Mason. Opposite page, the first photo of Hiroshima after the explosion of the atomic bomb.

International law and the

by Bert Röling

BY one of the stranger ironies of fate the funds that provide the world's most prestigious award for action in favour of peace, the Nobel Peace Prize, were derived from the invention and sale of dynamite and other high explosives. Yet Alfred Nobel (1833-1896), the industrialist and inventor of dynamite who founded the Nobel Prizes, saw himself as a pacifist and was convinced that the destructive power of his inventions would bring an end to war. Writing to Baroness Bertha von Suttner, the author of the famous book *Die Waffen Nieder* (Down with Armaments) and one of the first winners of the Nobel Peace Prize, he declared: "I do more for peace with my guns than you with your disarmament lectures".

Nobel eventually came to realize that he had miscalculated—his weapons were not destructive enough!—and in later correspondence he wrote that armaments would only bring about the elimination of war when they were powerful enough to destroy not only military forces but the civilian population as well.

Today the world has reached that situation. The advance of science and technology has brought atomic weapons and missiles with such a capacity for mass destruction that their use in a war between nuclear powers would literally wipe out both

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Photo © Keystone, Paris

right to possess arms

parties. And the consequences of such a war might well also be disastrous for the rest of mankind. Indeed, many experts fear that the entire world would become uninhabitable.

The doctrine propounded by the Prussian military theorist, Carl von Clausewitz, that "war is the continuation of policy with military means", is no longer valid between nuclear powers. It may, nevertheless, still have some meaning in the context of Third World relations—cynics have said that war has become the "privilege" of the poor and the underdeveloped. But even wars on the non-nuclear scale have become too risky, since the superpowers may consider that their outcome will affect their vital interests and therefore intervene. If wars continue to break out as they have done in the recent past (about 130 wars have occurred since the end of World War II), the probability is that in the near future one of them will escalate into a world war. This is why the whole world has a vital interest in the maintenance of peace.

Thus technological advance in weapons development has brought about a situation in which modern nuclear weapons can no longer be used in combat because they would lead to mutual annihilation, and wars fought with conventional weapons carry the risk of escalation into nuclear war. At the same time, the arms race and the proliferation of nuclear weapons (about five hundred thousand million dollars are spent each year on armaments) have produced a crazy overkill capacity which could destroy the entire population of the world many times over.

If modern weaponry is unusable, does this mean that there is a case for unilateral disarmament? Unfortunately not, because if one party were to disarm unilaterally, the weapons of the other party would become usable again since there would be no fear of retaliation. Thus we are faced with the paradox that, although weapons may have become unusable, they cannot easily be

relinquished in the world as it is today.

The logical conclusion to be drawn from all this is that the only reasonable function of armed power is to deter other States from attacking or threatening to attack. Sabre-rattling, even with the nuclear sabre, is still a customary practice among the stronger nations. But if other States have a deterring weapon posture, this "coercive diplomacy", this "political use of military power", this threat to use force loses all credibility.

If the only reasonable function of national military power is to provide military security achieved through the neutralization of the military power of possible opponents by ensuring that their weapons remain unusable, the question arises as to what level of armaments is necessary to attain this goal.

On this point opinions differ. In some military circles the demand is for "enough arms to enable us to win if war breaks out". In other words, they want superiority of weaponry. But if this attitude is adopted, the arms race will continue endlessly as States seek to achieve a disarming first strike capability (the capacity to destroy all the opponent's strategic weapons in one surprise attack). Military security, however, should imply "weapon security", that is to say, the avoidance of a weapon situation in which the weapons themselves form an independent danger. Human nature being what it is, such a disarming first strike capability would inevitably lead to war.

The most satisfactory answer to the question "how much weapon power is enough?" would seem to be: "just sufficient to ensure that war will be avoided". A State needs many more weapons to win (whatever winning might mean in a nuclear confrontation) than to deter the commencement of a war. "Minimum deterrence", "inoffensive deterrence", "defensive deterrence", "territorial defence", all these terms have been used to indicate a military posture which would make a State powerful enough to deter a would-be aggressor whilst being itself utterly incapable of committing aggression.

This function of national military power—that is, to provide for military security by deterring the use of weapons by others—is the only function recognized in international law. The United Nations Charter forbids the use of military force (or the threat of its use) except in the case of an armed attack. The standpoint of the Charter is unequivocal; it amounts to the prohibition of the first use of armed force. And this standpoint is clearly reaffirmed in the definition of aggression adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1974 which expressly states: "No consideration of whatever nature, whether political, economic, military or otherwise, may serve as a justification of aggression".

To rely on law in arguments concerning international relations is, at best, a precarious business. Law is only one of the factors, and not the strongest, which play a role in deciding actions in the international field. Nevertheless, the rule prohibiting the use of force, this basic ground rule of the United Nations, is not just some kind of luxury designed to make life more pleasant; it is the pre-condition of life itself. It is a law that follows logically from the present weapons dilemma—that our weapons are unusable but still cannot be relinquished. The prohibition of the use of force is the logical consequence of that dilemma and it is our

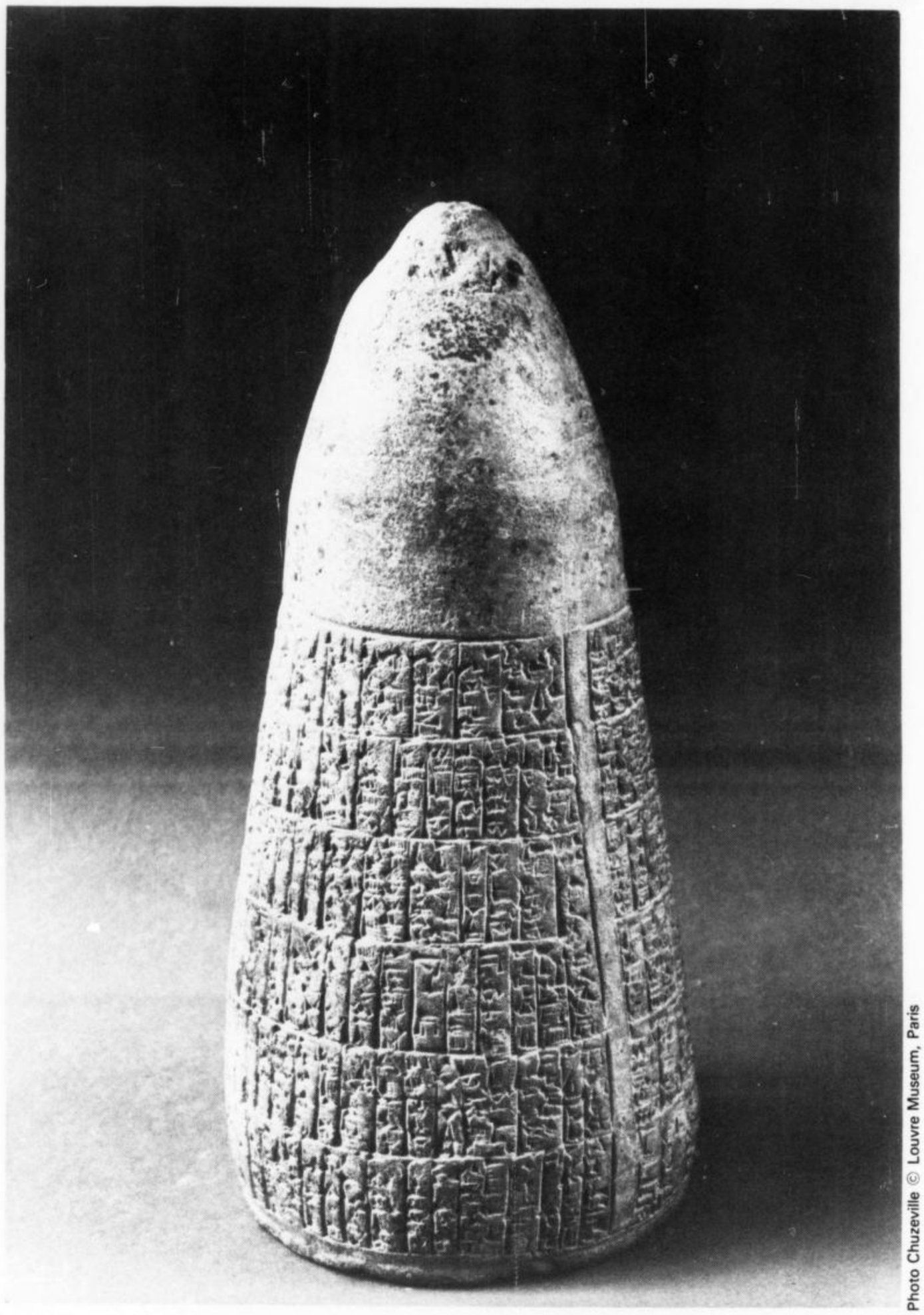
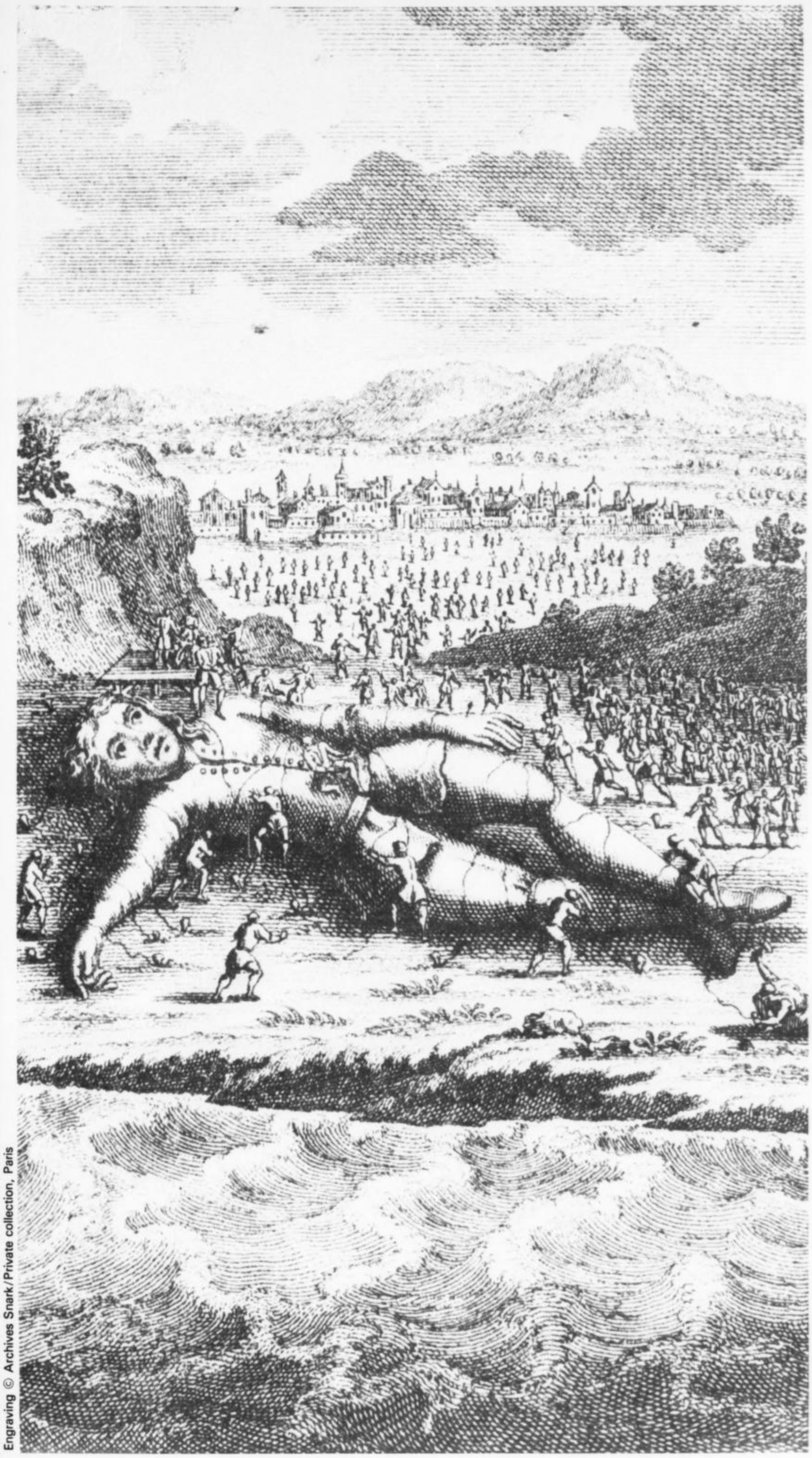


Photo Chuzeville © Louvre Museum, Paris

Text of one the world's oldest known peace treaties is carved on the cone-shaped stone, above. Almost 4,500 years old, it commemorates the settlement of a frontier dispute between two neighbouring Sumerian cities, Lagash and Umma, in Mesopotamia.



Engraving © Archives Snark/Private collection, Paris

"When they are united, the weak become powerful". Just as the tiny Lilliputians in Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (above) were able to bind Gulliver with their gossamer-threads, the co-operation of the world's smaller nations offers a basis for a new approach to questions of disarmament and arms control by the great powers.

common interest that this rule be observed.

International law has restricted the freedom of the sovereign States by prohibiting the use of armed force except in response to attack. But traditional international law did not restrict the sovereign right of the State to possess armed power. It was only after World War II that the right to possess weapons was limited. A State may not possess biological weapons nor weapons based on environment modification techniques, if it is a party to treaties regulating these weapons. If it is a non-nuclear power and adheres to the Non-Proliferation Treaty, it is forbidden to possess nuclear weapons. Other treaties limit the numbers of certain kinds of weapons a State may possess and forbid the introduction of weapons to certain specific areas (for example, the sea bed, cosmic space, the South Pole).

States that adhere to such treaties may then be said to have recognized the rule that "the right of States to possess arms is not unlimited". But this is not a universal rule of international law since not all States are bound by these treaties which can, moreover, be renounced. The question is whether it should not become a general principle of international law with precise and binding rules concerning the extent to which the sovereign right to have arms is restricted.

Up till now, restrictions on this sovereign right to possess arms have forbidden some quality or quantity of specific categories of weapons. But technological innovations have made this approach difficult if not useless. Hence the need for a new approach which does not rely on qualitative or quantitative restrictions but considers instead not weapons but the missions or functions of armed power. "Missions" or "functions" are used here to describe the specific tasks to which military capabilities can be put, and it is these missions or functions that should be made the primary focus of agreement. Some capabilities should be forbidden—the capability of launching a pre-emptive first strike or a successful surprise attack. As a general rule a State should not have the right to possess arms capable of performing functions that are forbidden by international law.

If, according to present international law, the principal function of national armed forces is to provide military security, should it still be legitimate to possess armed power capable of going beyond that function? The answer must be "No". The logical consequence of the ban on the use of force except to resist armed attack is a further ban on the right to possess arms conceived for aggressive purposes.

One of the "four freedoms" in Roosevelt's famous State of the Union speech in 1941 was "freedom from fear". It implied a "world-wide reduction of armaments such...that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbour, anywhere in the world". And Sumner Welles, the U.S. Secretary of State at the time, clarified the issue by stating that this implied "the abolition of offensive arms and the limitation and reduction of defensive armaments and of the tools which make possible the construction of these armaments".

Such a set of all-embracing rules could only gradually be established. A start might

be made with the prohibition of the introduction of new offensive or de-stabilizing weapon systems. We might gradually reach the stage at which the guiding principle would be a ban on the possession of excessive armaments. A new chapter of international law concerning arms control and disarmament is needed and this was stressed by peace experts at meetings held at Unesco in 1978 and 1980.

A new approach in the field of disarmament has been proposed, but proposals need to be addressed to people or groups who can act upon them. In our case the message is destined for the smaller nations. The time has come to adopt the battle cry: "Nuclear proletarians of the whole world, unite!" The smaller nations, members of military alliances and non-aligned countries should co-operate more actively on questions of disarmament and arms control.

They should collectively develop principles and standards to be applied in negotiations on the basis of which the United Nations General Assembly should outline in its resolutions the standards and rules of the new chapter of international law concerning the restriction of national freedom to possess weapons.

Although the General Assembly does not have legislative power, it can, by its resolutions, change the political and juridical climate in the world, as it did with respect to colonialism, racial discrimination and the market mechanism of the existing international economic order. Even in face of the resistance of the great powers, the smaller States, who form a vast majority, would be able to make their strongly held convictions gain the day. When they are united, the weak become powerful.

The Special Disarmament Session was the first occasion on which the small States gave signs of their impatience and their misgivings concerning the arms control practices of the superpowers. It provided a demonstration of their protest against the failure of the States previously responsible for putting arms control into effect.

The Final Act of the Special Session on Disarmament provides for institutions in which the smaller States can fulfil their new role in giving guidelines that should be observed in arms control negotiations and preparing the ground for the acceptance of new rules restricting national freedom to possess weapons. In the field of arms control and disarmament the General Assembly has to perform the same role as a law-creating agency as it has in the field of human rights and is doing with regard to the establishment of a New International Economic Order. In all these fields the progressive development of international law implies a curtailment of national sovereignty. These curtailments are not unrelated; they are interdependent. Restriction of the right to possess arms will only have lasting effect if in other fields also arbitrary behaviour by States gives way to behaviour that fits into an international framework aimed at world peace and the well-being of humanity.

■ **Bert Röling**

At Nagasaki, victims of atomic war.

Photo Yamahata Yosuke © Hiroshima-Nagasaki Publishing Committee. Taken from *Hiroshima-Nagasaki, a Pictorial Record of the Atomic Destruction.*

From man of war to man of peace

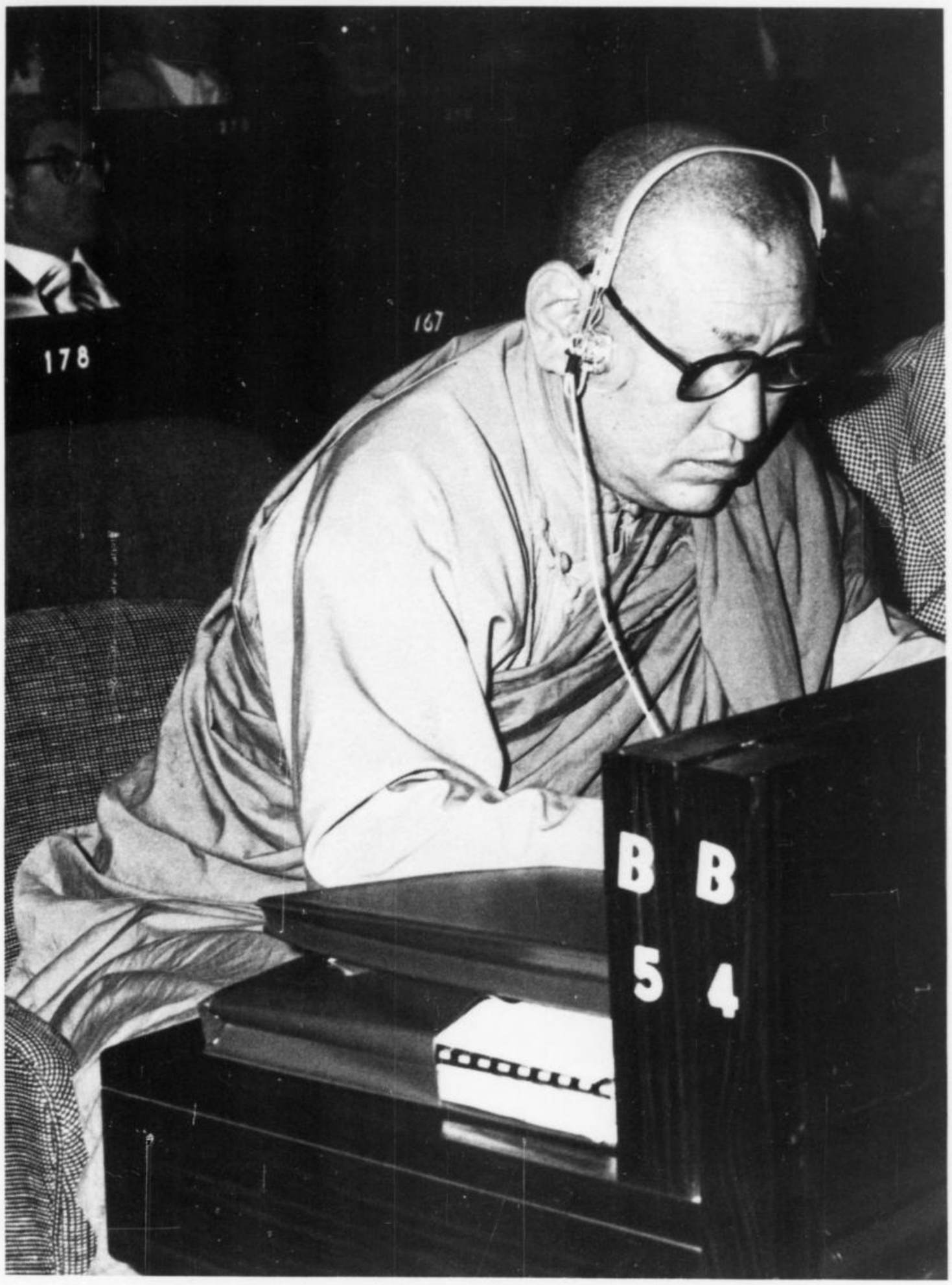


Photo Marcel Salvaro, Unesco

The Venerable Gyotsu Ko Sato attending a session of the World Congress on Disarmament Education, held at Unesco headquarters, Paris, from 9 to 13 June.

by Howard Brabyn

"PEACE" and "Repentance" are words that come constantly to the lips of the Venerable Gyotsu Ko Sato. The peace he proclaims is peace for the world, with nuclear disarmament as the first step. Repentance is for himself, for incredible as it may seem today, the serene, ever-smiling figure in the saffron robe of a Buddhist monk was once an avowed militarist and a diehard member of the Japanese warrior caste.

Gyotsu Ko Sato grew up in the troubled climate of the years that followed the First World War, a period which saw the revival of Japanese militarism, the occupation of Manchuria in 1931, the "China Incident" of 1937, and the gradual but inexorable drift towards the Second World War.

> "I was born in 1918 in a very remote corner of the Japanese main island, Honshu, in the northern part in a small and peaceful village. My father was a teacher. Then we moved to the middle of Honshu island where I went to school. Just at that time Japan was entirely changing, particularly in the education field, because of the militarization that was going on. The China incident, as it was called in Japan, was started by the invasion of Manchuria. I was in the 6th year grade at primary school. I remember many young people were being mobilized into the forces and they were telling us we had to defend our nation. We had to be loyal to the emperor and when an emergency arose we had to go to the battlefield with no hesitation whatsoever in order to defend our nation. That was what our teachers told us. We were taught to respect the ancient Samurai warrior code and to believe that it was an honour to die in battle."

The sweeping successes of Japanese armies during the early days of the war served to confirm all that the young Sato had been brought up to believe and subsequent defeats only hardened his resolve. Even after atomic bombs fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, on 6 and 9 August 1945, Major Sato, then working at a weapons research establishment, could not face the "dishonour" of defeat and urged continuation of the war.

> "I was serving in the military aeronautical research institute working on communications systems and on radio control of missiles. The Japanese weapons systems were rather inferior compared with those of the United States and the allied forces and I was eager to improve them. When Hiroshima was bombed I believed that the United States had played its last card and that they had no other means to defeat us, so that if we persevered then we might be able to conclude an honourable peace. I urged people not to surrender, but to wait and persevere. Later I was ashamed to have said this when I saw with my own eyes the devastation of Hiroshima."

When an armistice was signed on 14 August 1945, Major Sato together with other military extremists forced their way into a Japanese army air base and attempted to take off in the notorious "kamikaze" suicide planes for a desperate final attack on the Allied fleet. The attempt was foiled by Japanese military police and Major Sato found himself a prisoner in his own country.

> "Warriors were supposed to die if their mission was not fulfilled and many of my friends and colleagues committed suicide. I was about to do so when I was arrested without any weapons near me. I tried to obtain a weapon to kill myself, but the watch was tight. The

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HOWARD BRABYN *is editor of the English edition of the* Unesco Courier.

military police officer guarding me told me repeatedly not to die. He told me that I should let myself sink to the bottom of society for some time and that later I would be able to raise my head again. Until then, he said, I should simply survive. In the end I was somehow convinced by him that I should not kill myself. He had a friend outside the military and I was introduced to him. That friend was a Buddhist, a retired naval officer of high rank, and he suggested that I should become a Buddhist monk".

Upon his release, Sato shaved his head and donned the robes of a novice monk. Though his heart was not in it he went through the Buddhist rites and rituals; but it was not until some two months later that he discovered that a fundamental change had occurred within him. He visited Hiroshima and Nagasaki and learnt at first hand the full horror of the atom bomb, whose effects he discovered were far greater than even the United Nations reports had revealed. On 25 February 1946 he was ordained and became a fully-fledged Buddhist monk.

The wheel had turned full circle and the former traditional militarist decided to wage his own personal war on war. Today, as Vice-president of the International Peace Bureau, his voice is heard throughout the world calling for peace.

Disarmament, he says, depends upon governments, but the political will to disarm originates in the minds of the people; without that no treaty, however solemn and binding, will achieve anything. A firm conviction of the need for peace must exist at the bottom of each and every person's heart, otherwise humanity will not survive.

> "My father and mother were both teachers and they were not in favour of my becoming a military officer. Both of them were opposed to my decision as a young boy, but school education overwhelmed the family teachings and I paid no heed to my parents. Educational systems must be carefully controlled by peaceable people. When I am asked what the ordinary individual can do for peace I tell them 'fear not'. Even though the threat of violence may be there we need not be fearful about it.
> We need not arm to defend ourselves. This is the first conviction that came to me after I became a monk, for the teaching of the Buddha is clear — fear not and therefore kill not. The right to live in peace must be made an individual right as well as a fundamental national right. In this way we will deny States the right to declare war or to use war as a solution for conflicts between States. The theory that nuclear weapons are a deterrent to war and that armaments are a necessary evil is a false concept that should be swept away".

Gyotsu Ko Sato has become a man of peace, but the traces of his own inner struggle are still evident in everything he says and does. He believes that his experience may be of help to many who have faced, or may in the future have to face a similar personal dilemma. To have his story spread abroad, to be obliged to re-live, again and again, and in public, what he now sees as the shame of his early life is part of his never-ending penance.

■ **Howard Brabyn**

Peace begins in the

HOW can the powerful force of education be made to serve peace and not war? How can it produce individuals free from aggressivity and from the disastrous influences of nationalists, chauvinist and racist prejudices? How can the younger generation be brought up to become convinced and active fighters for peace and social progress? In a world in which sixty times more is spent on training in the science of destruction each one of the twenty-five million people now clad in military uniforms than on the training of one child in creative activities, these questions are uppermost in the minds of all those concerned with the education of youth for peace.

It has become increasingly evident that the arms race is not only undermining mankind's economic health but is also causing direct moral and psychological damage. As the political scientist Pyotr Fedoseyev declared at the 11th World Congress of the International Political Sciences Association, held in Moscow in August 1979: "The very atmosphere of preparation for a new war, of fomenting war hysteria and the reign of militarism, limits the creative powers of the human mind... On the other hand, efforts to develop and strengthen the process of

Poster © Boris Smotrov, Moscow

classroom

by Emilia Sokolova and Inna Ivanyan

détente and to achieve mutually beneficial co-operation and friendship among nations contribute to personal fulfilment of the individual and the development of all man's most noble qualities".

Thus, although socio-economic factors may play a decisive role, the individual, properly educated in the spirit of international co-operation and peace and respect for fundamental human rights and freedoms, can have an enormous influence in normalizing and improving the political climate in the world.

Seen in this light the problems of education for disarmament take on a new urgency. This was recognized by the 1974 General Conference of Unesco which adopted a *Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education Relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms.* The Recommendation is a comprehensive document applicable to all stages of education which indicates concrete steps which can be taken in the educational field. Many Unesco Member States have already taken action on these proposals.

In Finland, for example, 30,000 copies of the Recommendation have been circulated among students and teachers. Seminars for teachers are held regularly at which the Recommendation is discussed. The Final Act of the 1975 Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is also a subject of study in Finnish schools.

In Poland, a special programme of peace education begins at kindergarten level and continues through primary and secondary schools and higher educational institutions as well as in clubs for teenagers.

In Japan, the All-Japan Teachers' Associations (NIKKIOSO), the Hiroshima Institute for Education in the Spirit of Peace and the Hiroshima Teachers' Association

Photo © APN, Moscow

As this Soviet poster (left) vividly illustrates, stockpiles of explosives accumulated in the world now amount to the equivalent of 15 tons of TNT per head of the population. Above, the stark ruins of Stalingrad (now Volgograd) in 1943 after the battle that proved to be a turning point in the Second World War.

have jointly compiled textbooks that condemn militarism and stress the value of peace and human life.

In Austria, a number of non-governmental organizations have established the Austrian Committee for Co-ordination of Activities for Peace. The Committee has drawn up a "Plan of Action for Disarmament and Education in the Spirit of Peace" which provides for the preparation and translation of instructional material on disarmament problems for use in schools and in teacher training institutions.

These recent examples of positive action taken by a number of countries reflect the notion that for schoolchildren textbooks provide a window on the world. The first letters, the first words, the first systematized ideas of life around them are learned by children from textbooks. So it is vitally important to ensure that their pages do not become a source of misinformation, a "distorting mirror", and that they do not plant in children's minds seeds that will grow into a scornful attitude towards other people and an urge for violence and aggression.

The bilateral and multilateral co-operation that has been developing over the last few years in the revision of the contents of textbooks has proved very fruitful. Recommendations for the revision of history texts have been drawn up, for instance, by representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany and Poland, and commissions with similar tasks have been set up in the USSR and the United States and in Finland and the USSR.

Work in this direction should be continued. Textbooks must make children aware of the social nature of war and indicate the real rather than the illusory paths to peace. There should be no place in textbooks for the myth that the arms race maintains employment or for notions of the inevitability of war. A Soviet sociology textbook for secondary school students reads, for example: "In our day peaceful coexistence is an objective requirement of peaceful development, the foundation of the stability of the entire system of present day international relations. It can be said with confidence that there is no acceptable alternative solution to peaceful coexistence."

Soviet textbooks on physics, biology and chemistry emphasize the international character of science and technology. In the chapter on atomic energy in the physics course textbook, for example, emphasis is laid on the need to fight for a ban on nuclear weapons tests and students are informed about the principal international agreements in this field. In the biology course instruction on the biological processes in the cell includes information on the deadly effect on human beings of exposure to radioactivity. The course on the geography of continents incorporates the subject "Protection of nature in the Antarctic as a model of international co-operation".

Education for international co-operation and peace and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms starts with the teaching of these rights and freedoms so as to provide students with a solid background on which to base their behaviour throughout their lives. Study of this subject begins in the eighth year of general secondary education (i.e. before the age of sixteen when

The Soviet peace

DURING the hardest years of the Second World War, when the battle against the forces of international fascism was raging on the Dniepr, in the suburbs of Moscow and on the outskirts of Leningrad, a movement was established to aid the Soviet army.

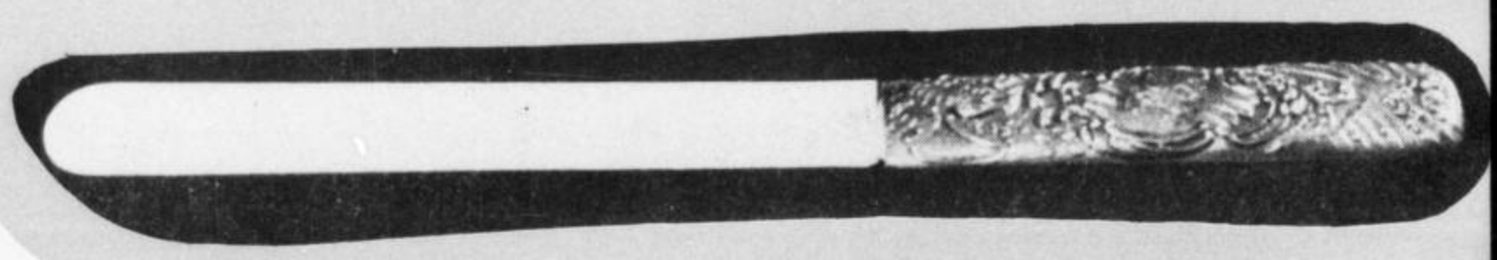
Money and foodstuffs were collected for this purpose, and the movement spread throughout the country. The money went to equip armoured units and air squadrons. "Everything for the front ! Everything for victory !" These were not empty slogans, and people gave willingly.

With the coming of victory, as humanity set out to preserve a peace whose achievement had claimed so many victims, there arose a movement for the defence of peace which is today the most powerful of our time. A determination to be involved in all the great causes of the age awakened a desire to contribute to the struggle for peace.

The Soviet committee for the defence of peace, and other non-governmental organizations based in various parts of the country, began to receive donations to be used in the struggle for peace, the strengthening of friendship between peoples, and aid to those fighting social injustice, and to their families. Substantial sums flowed in and were sent to various recipients. It became necessary to funnel these outpourings of popular generosity into a mighty river.

And so a single Peace Fund was created. Its address, 10 Kropotkin Street, Moscow, is famous today both inside and outside the Soviet Union. It receives all donations and subsidies contributed by the public to a variety of peaceful causes.

The Fund, whose organization is now solidly established, convenes conferences, organizes international peace assemblies, sends delegations abroad, and welcomes visitors. Supplies for



fund

hospitals and kindergartens, such as clothing, blankets and rations, are sent by air and sea to stricken areas.

The cost of these activities runs to millions of roubles a year. But the most remarkable feature of the Fund is that it does not become depleted. On the contrary, it grows from year to year, just like the rouble which, in the old Russian story, was given to a peasant who was enjoined to spend it unhesitatingly, but only on good causes. The generous peasant gave unstintingly, and the rouble persistently reappeared in his bag.

Boris Polevoi
Chairman of the Board, Soviet Peace Fund.

In addition to gifts of money, the Soviet Peace Fund receives many contributions in kind. Photos show valued family heirlooms that have been donated to the Fund.

youngsters are issued passports and formally become citizens of the USSR) under a special subject heading: "The Foundations of the Soviet State and Law"

The basic principles implemented at secondary level are applied at the universities and other institutions of higher education. In the natural sciences attention is drawn to the global problems involved in protecting the atmosphere, bodies of water, vegetation and wildlife which can only be solved through the joint efforts of all countries. In history, philosophy, political economy and law courses emphasis is placed on the comprehensive study of the problems of safeguarding peace, international security and disarmament.

Present world realities demand that the education and upbringing of children be made an active "zone of peace". All who are involved in the education of the younger generation—the family, the school, the university, the mass media, literature, the theatre, the cinema—should play their part in educating them in the spirit of peace and disarmament, of safeguarding international security and an atmosphere of mutual trust as the only hope for the existence and future development of mankind.

This, indeed, was the unanimous opinion of the delegates attending the World Congress on Disarmament Education, held at Unesco headquarters in Paris from 9 to 13 June, 1980. The final Document of the Congress points out the enormously important role to be played in this process by teachers and instructors on whom it largely depends whether the new generation will value peace as the greatest treasure of mankind.

■ **Emilia Sokolova and Inna Ivanyan**

Photos © Progress Publishers, Moscow

EMILIA SOKOLOVA, *of the USSR, is laboratory director at the Research Institute for General Educational Problems of the USSR Academy of Pedagogy. The author of a number of works on educational problems, she has contributed a chapter on "International Peace, Security and Disarmament and the Teacher's Role" to a teacher's methodological manual now being prepared by Unesco.*

INNA IVANYAN, *of the USSR, is senior researcher at the International Organizations Department of the Institute of World Economics and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences. She is the author of several works on the problems of education for peace and disarmament.*

Teaching disarmament at universities : a world survey

UNESCO'S Division of Human Rights and Peace, in co-operation with certain non-governmental organizations, recently initiated a survey that sought to discover the extent and nature of current disarmament education efforts in universities in all regions of the world. In North America, the Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED) accepted responsibility for the effort. The World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA) conducted the distribution and collection of the information for Africa, Asia, Australia and New Zealand, and Western Europe (excluding parts of Austria, the Federal Republic of Germany and Switzerland). The Latin American survey was handled by the Latin American Faculty of Social Sciences (FLACSO). In Eastern Europe, the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, and portions of Austria, the International Institute of Peace (IIP) developed, distributed and collected the information from the German language surveys. We present below some general comments on the survey from a paper prepared for COPRED by Professor Leonard Gambrell.

For purposes of the survey, disarmament education was broadly defined. Respondents were asked to include instruction which dealt with almost any aspect of the development, theory, or rationale of arms policies. Likewise, they were asked to include any sort of arms control or disarmament related studies. Consequently, courses dealing with economic problems associated with either the arms races or disarmament, or with more narrow theoretical or technical concepts such as deterrence logic, were considered a possible part of disarmament education.

Diversity in educational and political systems made it very difficult for Unesco to develop a single uniform questionnaire. It was recognized, that even if the same questions were asked, the diversity in perspectives and experiences in general, plus the variation in views of the scope and nature of what disarmament education entails, would make a uniform survey difficult. For these reasons, therefore, it cannot be claimed that the survey has scientific statistical significance, but it does provide important information on the substance, and lack, of disarmament education as well as insights into several of the general problems facing disarmament education endeavours.

Given the specific limitations of the survey response, it seems fair to assert that little attention is being given to genuine disarmament education. While 73.8 per cent of respondents offer courses on disarmament problems or related issues, only 18.7 per cent offer as much as one course dealing with specific aspects of disarmament. There is widespread general support of the notion, but when probing deeper one finds that real support, even in terms of long-range goals or interests, is lacking.

There is a recognizable resistance or indifference toward disarmament education on the part of many of those teaching and developing the professional literature in international relations and related fields. At least part of this negative attitude may be attributed to the vagueness of the concept of disarmament. Educators are not likely to initiate courses on a subject that does not suggest clear direction, scope and content.

The literature focusing on the moral aspects of arms races seldom seems to be consistent. Sometimes condemnation seems directed at the use of violent defence; in other instances, it appears that any type of coercion or the mere presence of such a threat is immoral. Even more contradictory is an implied acceptance of conventional arms policies coupled with condemnation of the threatened use of nuclear weapons or the use of "weapons of mass destruction". By implication it is all right to use weapons just as long as atoms are not split or the destruction is sufficiently gradual.

One of the most negative influences on the acceptance of disarmament education is the treatment of the political aspects of the topic of disarmament. Among the most glaring weaknesses is the general failure to establish clear and precise linkage of arms races to military doctrines and perceptions. Overall there seems to be little appreciation of the inherent implications that flow from a nation's conceptualization of its strategic and tactical defence policies. Seldom does there appear to be any linkage of these matters to levels and types of weapons systems. One gets the impression that arms races are nothing more than the consequence of habit or lack of imagination.

It therefore appears that what is being urged is a mere proclamation to stop arming and it will occur. There is not sufficient analysis and probing of the apparent linkages between continuation of arms expansion and such matters as the logic of deterrence theory. Within the "logic" of deterrence there are serious conceptual flaws that inevitably lead to excessive reliance upon arms and especially on nuclear

Art inspired by matters of concern to society as a whole should not be confined to art galleries. The French artist Ernest Pignon Ernest exhibits his work in public places—streets, squares, public stairways—that are associated in the collective memory with incidents in the struggle against violence.

Photo Pascal Poucet © Ernest Pignon Ernest, Paris

weapons. The concept promises much more than can be delivered.

An additional problem arises from conceptual difficulties within disarmament thought. It is sometimes postulated that only the developed world can afford the "luxury" of thinking or teaching about disarmament. Developing nations, it is either argued or implied, must focus on gaining and maintaining security.

Security, however, has several dimensions. Physical safety is only one aspect of this concern. It is equally important to think of the psychological or self-confidence aspects of security. Likewise, it should be noted, that although one thinks in terms of national security, in political reality, the concern for security actually translates, in terms of government policies, to mean the security of the particular individual or groups of individuals heading the government. Positive economic development can and will occur only within regimes which are led by people who feel secure. Therefore, the effort to promote disarmament should include an awareness of processes that enhance this *a priori* sense of security. To isolate disarmament as a separate goal or interest is a mistake. Talk of removing weapons, or even the study of such, will probably be viewed as threatening in the "real" political world. It is not very important whether peace researchers and educators believe weapons systems do or do not provide security. What matters most are the perceptions of those who have the weapons.

Within the broader conception of security lies the possibility of establishing a clear linkage between disarmament and security. It is nonsense to ask political leadership to behave in ways that do not make sense from the leaders' perspectives. This also means that there is a need to devote much greater energy and creativity to improving the chances of positively influencing those who do not now agree with the goals of disarmament.

Much of the emphasis on disarmament is somewhat misguided or misdirected. This, in turn, has an adverse impact on the degree of interest in disarmament education. In the final analysis, neither development nor disarmament can occur unless there is a sense of general political security and confidence. Disarmament taken alone projects a sense of defencelessness. One wonders, if not arms, "what follows" or "what else" will we experience? It should be recognized that within formal academic training and especially within international relations and diplomatic history courses there seems to be little awareness of alternative methods for providing national security.

The failure to link disarmament proposals with the necessity for conceptually projecting the notion of alternative approaches to national security leaves disarmament education with a bleak future. If we are to reverse this condition there must be full appreciation of what does exist and what appear to be important barriers to the development of meaningful and far-reaching disarmament education. This may require less use of the term "disarmament", and more emphasis upon the positive concept of alternative views and approaches to security. ■

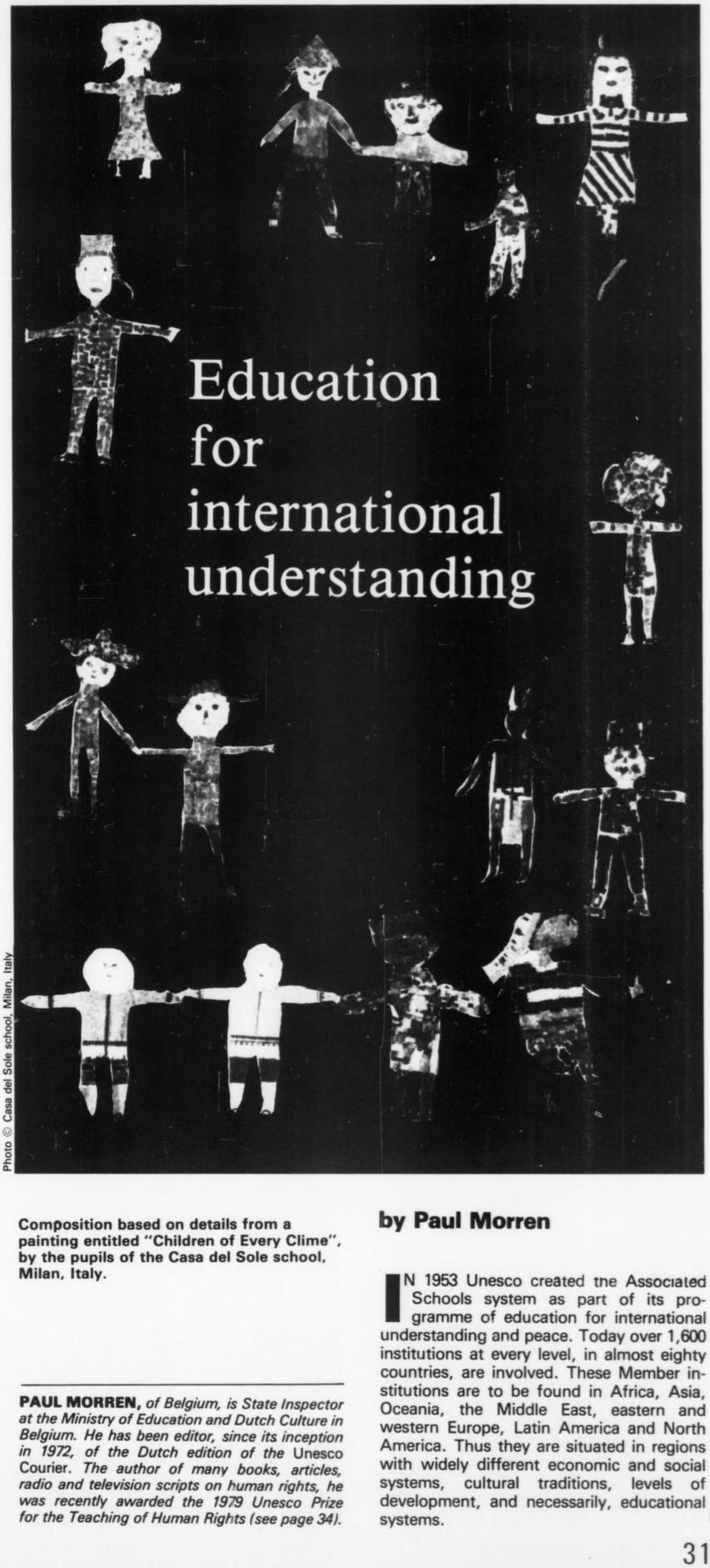


Photo © Casa del Sole school, Milan, Italy

Composition based on details from a painting entitled "Children of Every Clime", by the pupils of the Casa del Sole school, Milan, Italy.

PAUL MORREN, *of Belgium, is State Inspector at the Ministry of Education and Dutch Culture in Belgium. He has been editor, since its inception in 1972, of the Dutch edition of the* Unesco Courier. *The author of many books, articles, radio and television scripts on human rights, he was recently awarded the 1979 Unesco Prize for the Teaching of Human Rights (see page 34).*

by Paul Morren

IN 1953 Unesco created the Associated Schools system as part of its programme of education for international understanding and peace. Today over 1,600 institutions at every level, in almost eighty countries, are involved. These Member institutions are to be found in Africa, Asia, Oceania, the Middle East, eastern and western Europe, Latin America and North America. Thus they are situated in regions with widely different economic and social systems, cultural traditions, levels of development, and necessarily, educational systems.

Each school is directly associated with the activities of Unesco, whose education sector has a special unit which handles the co-ordination of the system. Since 1961 this unit has published a magazine, *International Understanding at School,* in order to provide a link with the Member schools.

The Associated Schools are selected by authorities in the various countries—National Commissions for Unesco, Ministries of Education, specially constituted committees. Ideas are exchanged and plans drawn up at seminars held in these countries and attended by teachers, civil servants and in some cases the pupils themselves. Schools taking part in the programme lose none of their autonomy. It is up to them to decide, in the light of what is feasible and the interest shown by pupils and teachers, on the form their collaboration should take. The main thing is that a new spirit should infuse their everyday work and that the Associated Schools should be innovating institutions capable of exercising a lasting influence on the entire educational system.

When the programme was launched, Unesco proposed three subjects for study: international organizations within the United Nations family; human rights; and the cultures of other countries. These options were not in any way exclusive, although most schools decided to take one or other of them, and a strong preference was shown for the third (and undoubtedly the easiest) choice.

The field is immense, and the scope for dynamism and initiative is limitless. But facile sermonizing and the preaching of simplistic propaganda are always ruled out. "If the choice has to be made between truth and international citizenship, then I'm for truth", said one of the delegates at the first meeting of the Associated Schools. The transmission of tendentious, incomplete or falsely optimistic information would be the worst kind of disservice to education for international understanding (or to any other kind of education, for that matter).

Presenting the United Nations as the infallible solution to all political problems is not the way to help young people to understand the conflict-ridden situations on which their security may depend. Shouting from the rooftops that all men are brothers is not the way to fight racism, prejudice and discrimination. Vaunting the beauty of the Taj Mahal is not the way to explain India and its people, its achievements and its problems, its international relations, its economy and the meaning of its culture. Let us make no mistake: we must talk about the United Nations, put the accent on human solidarity and pay tribute to outstanding achievements, but critically and within a broad context.

As I see it, education for international understanding should primarily seek to promote an awareness of the international aspects of the human condition, of contemporary civilization and social relations, of the dynamics of their evolution, and of the consequently growing interdependence of peoples and nations. This awareness will grow out of the critical analysis and study of the facts through active methods.

In 1974, Unesco's General Conference adopted a Recommendation concerning education for international understanding, co-operation and peace and education rela-

Photo © Government Comprehensive Girls' High School, Sargodha, Pakistan

Understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilizations, values and ways of life, including their ethnic cultures, are among the guiding principles adopted by Unesco for education at all levels for mutual comprehension and international peace. Within the Associated Schools System, pupils and teachers are free to select a culture which they find of special interest and to set up special projects, of varying duration, for its study. The pupils of the Comprehensive Girls' High School, Sargodha, Pakistan, decided, for example, to study Japanese culture, its customs and traditions with which they are now thoroughly familiar. Above, teachers and pupils are seen during the traditional Japanese tea ceremonial. The history, religions and arts of India form the subject of the special project set up at Northmead Primary School, Lusaka, Zambia. Right, rendering of a popular Zambian song on an Indian musical instrument. The teachers of the Girls' Primary School, Birkirkara, Malta, selected a series of themes or "centres of interest" concerning Greek culture. The girls divided themselves up into groups to study Greek writing, arts and crafts, theatre and dance (bottom photo).

Photo © Northmead Primary School, Lusaka, Zambia

Photo © Girls' Primary School, Birkirkara, Malta

ting to human rights and fundamental freedoms. This text sets forth seven guiding principles: an international dimension and a global perspective in education at all levels and in all its forms; understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilizations, values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations; awareness of the increasing global interdependence between peoples and nations; abilities to communicate with others; awareness not only of the rights but also of the duties incumbent upon individuals, social groups and nations towards each other; understanding of the necessity for international solidarity and co-operation; readiness on the part of the individual to participate in solving the problems of his community, his country and the world at large.

This list illustrates the range and possibilities of education for international understanding which, according to the same recommendation, should focus mainly on the following themes: equality of rights of peoples, and the right of peoples to self-determination; the maintenance of peace; action to ensure the exercise and observance of human rights, including those of refugees; racism and its eradication; the fight against discrimination in its various forms; economic growth and social development and their relation to social justice; colonialism and decolonization; ways and means of assisting developing countries; the struggle against disease, illiteracy and famine; the fight for a better quality of life... the use, management and conservation of natural resources, pollution of the environment; the preservation of the cultural heritage of mankind; the role and methods of action of the United Nations system...

The recommendation shows that the study of human rights is necessarily central to the education which is being advocated. In the last analysis, our work for peace, disarmament and justice will always be based on respect for Human Rights.

Ever since its early days the Associated Schools system has had an eventful existence and has been involved in many pioneering experiments both in teaching methods and content, including such modern educational techniques as group activities, projects and educative games. In some cases there have been efforts to involve parents, former pupils, and cultural organizations in the system, and to promote co-operation with school television and radio.

This does not imply that all the problems have been solved, especially those concerning evaluation and interdisciplinarity. But it is now an established fact that States are interested in incorporating education for international understanding into their educational systems on equal (if not preferential) terms with other objectives. It is impossible to ignore the contribution of the Associated Schools system and, above all, to believe that education with an international outlook, if it is too searching, can be prejudicial to national interests. National and international values are not antagonistic, they complement each other. No one has the right to deprive today's young people, who are preparing to shape the twenty-first century, of the knowledge, the critical approach and the attitudes they will need and on which human survival may hinge. ■ **Paul Morren**

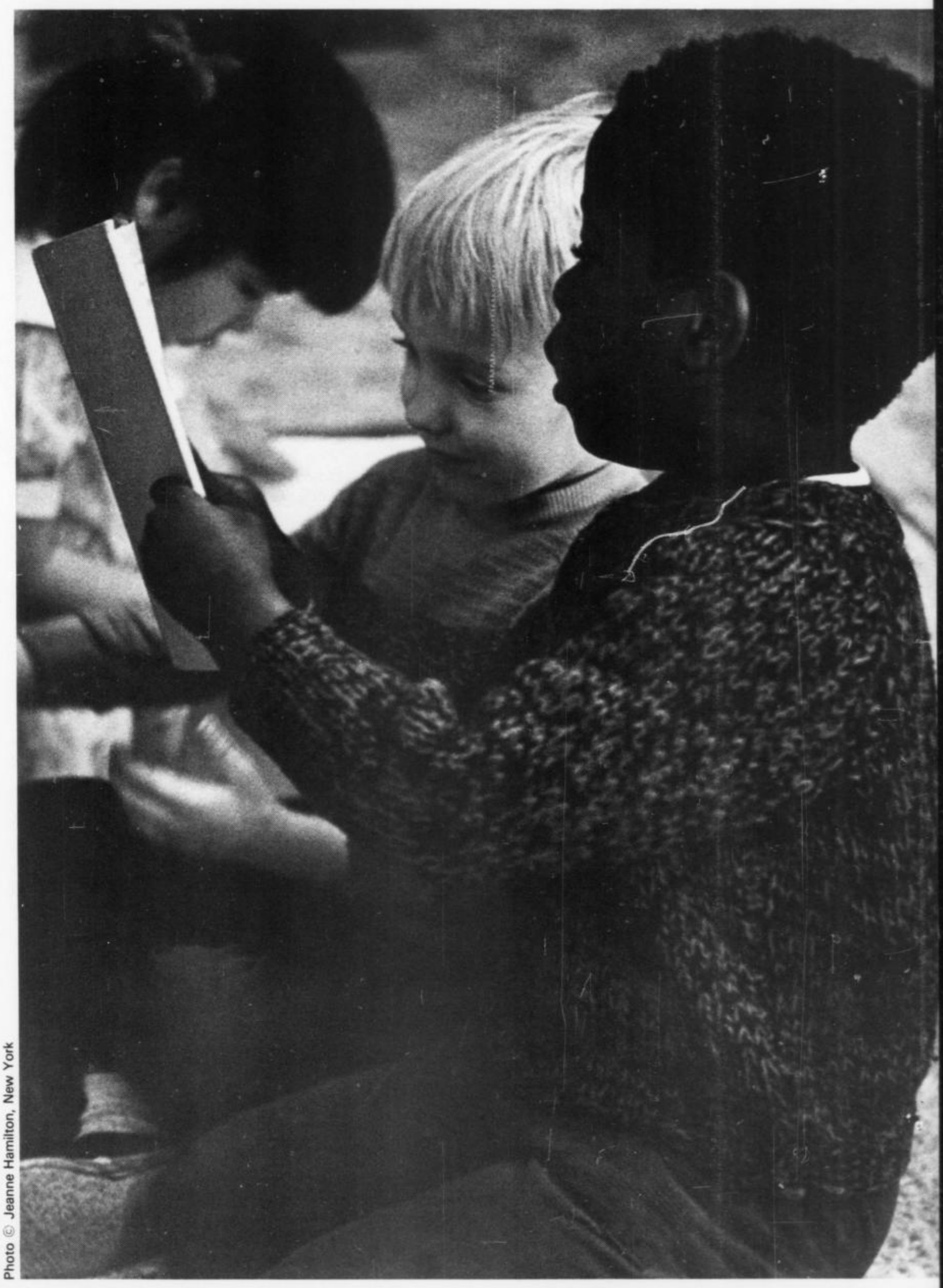


Photo © Jeanne Hamilton, New York

Letters to the Editor

The Unesco Courier welcomes readers' letters, which should be addressed to the Editor-in-Chief, Unesco Courier, Place de Fontenoy, 75700 Paris. Only signed letters will be considered for publication.

A LOOK AT LIBRARIES ?

Sir,

I have been a subscriber to the American edition of the *Unesco Courier* since 1954. I read, re-read and retain all copies in my private library.

I have a suggestion-request that some future issue be about the Ancient and Great Library of Alexandria. Perhaps the entire issue could have libraries as its theme.

Jerome Slezak
Lakewood, Ohio, U.S.A.

KEEP IT SIMPLE

Sir,

I am thirteen years old, am in my second year at secondary school, and this year became a regular subscriber to the *Unesco Courier*. I find it a good magazine with a great deal of interesting information about the world and its problems.

I have, however, a criticism to make. It seems to me that the *Unesco Courier* is addressed to an intellectual elite. If you want your magazine to be widely read and appreciated by as many people as possible, you should write in a simpler fashion so that it will be clearly understandable to young people.

I hope that you will appreciate and act on my proposal for your very instructive magazine.

Laurent Cavalier
Fécamp, France

What do other readers think? — Editor

DAMS OF ANCIENT EGYPT

Sir,

On page 15 of the February-March 1980 issue of the *Unesco Courier* a comment on a photograph of the High Dam hydroelectric plant at Aswan states that the barrage built by King Menes at Kosheisha (as pronounced locally) was for supplying his capital Memphis with water. However, in an article in the American engineering review Engineering News Record, Vol. 87, No.14, page 556 (October 1921), under the title "Some Dams of the Ancients", reference was made to this barrage as reported by Herodotus who pointed out that its purpose was to divert the Nile waters, presumably during floods, away from Memphis. The scanty remains of the barrage as well as the topography and configuration of its site substantiate this viewpoint. Besides, the neglect of the barrage in later centuries caused the flood water to invade the city, then deserted, and many of its fallen monuments were covered with river mud. Among these monuments is the colossal statue of Ramses II now erected at Ramses Square in Cairo.

It may be of interest in this respect to note that another dam of these ancient periods was built not very far from the Menes barrage. This time the dam was a storage dam to keep the flood waters impounded in the Fayum depression from receding back to the main river. The dam, discovered by Dr. Schweinfurt in 1885, had unlimited economic benefits on the Fayum area, as reported by Maspero in the above-mentioned article.

Finally, one may wonder how the ancient dam builders achieved skills and design practices that in many cases are comparable with current concepts.

A.H. El Ramli
Member of the "Consortium of Consulting Engineers and Architects for the Salvage of Philae Monuments"
Cairo, Egypt

Mr. Paul Morren, editor of the Dutch edition of the *Unesco Courier*, has been awarded the 1979 Unesco Prize for the Teaching of Human Rights.

Presenting the award at a ceremony in Paris, Unesco Director-General Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow said that in honouring Mr. Morren Unesco wished to stress the vital importance of teaching about human rights at the secondary school level and of inculcating these ideals in youth. Mr. Morren, who is State Inspector of Education at the Ministry of Education and Dutch Culture in Belgium, has been instrumental in developing the teaching of human rights in Belgium at the secondary level, particularly within the framework of the Unesco Associated Schools System (see article page 31).

Honourable mentions for "meritorious action in the field of human rights" were also awarded to Mr. Justino Jiménez de Arechaga, of Uruguay (a posthumous award), Mr. Othman Abdul Malek Al-Salih, of Kuwait, and Mr. P. Vegleris, of Greece.

Photo Marcel Salvaro, Unesco

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